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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Church Historical Society

PART I

Post-Caroline English Revision Attempts
AND
The London Reprint of the Proposed Book
of 1785/6

By
WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, B.D., Ph.D.
*Member of the Society of Biblical Exegesis and Literature;
The American Oriental Society, Etc., Etc.*

The Early History of the Church in Western
Pennsylvania

BY THE
RT. REV. CORTLANDT WHITEHEAD, D.D., LL. D.
Bishop of Pittsburgh

PHILADELPHIA
1915



PROCEEDINGS
of the
CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 17, 1910.

The first meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Assembly Room of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, May 17, 1910. The meeting was called to order by Mr. John Thomson, Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

Mr. Thomson introduced the Rev. Joseph Cullen Ayer, Ph.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Philadelphia Divinity School, who delivered an address upon "Innocent III."

Immediately following the address the Society was permanently organized by the adoption of the following Constitution and By-laws:

CONSTITUTION.**ARTICLE I.**

The name of this organization shall be "The Church Historical Society."

ARTICLE II.

The object of the Society shall be the preservation and publication of historical documents connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church, the investigation of its history, and the development of interest in all relevant historical research.

ARTICLE III.

The membership shall consist of honorary, life and active members. Honorary members shall be those elected by the unanimous vote of the Society at any stated meeting. Any communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church may be elected by the Executive Board to membership. Upon the payment of ten dollars to the Treasurer a person may be elected a life member.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and six Managers, who shall constitute the Executive Board. The officers and two Managers shall be nominated at the stated meeting in October and shall be elected at the stated meeting in January. All vacancies shall be filled by the Executive Board until the next January meeting of the Society, when an election for the unexpired term shall take place.

ARTICLE V.

The duties of the several officers shall be such as are usually incidental to their offices. The officers shall be chosen for one year and the Managers for three years, two Managers to be elected yearly as above set forth, provided that at the first election six Managers shall be chosen whose terms, whether for three years, two years or one year, shall be determined by lot.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall meet in the months of October, January and April, at such time and place as the Executive Board shall direct. The Executive Board (hereinafter called the Board) shall meet monthly. It shall have power to adopt rules for its own government. Five of its members shall constitute a quorum. This number shall not be decreased without the direction of the Society.

ARTICLE II.

The Treasurer, when required, shall give bond in such sum as the Board may demand.

ARTICLE III.

There shall be a Librarian, who shall be elected by and perform such services as the Board shall direct, be paid such compensation as it may consider just, and be subject to discharge by it.

ARTICLE IV.

The annual dues of active members shall be one dollar. Members whose dues remain unpaid for more than two years may be dropped by vote of the Board.

ARTICLE V.

This Constitution and the By-laws may be altered or amended at any meeting, on written notice specifying the alteration or amendment intended being given at the meeting next preceding.

ARTICLE VI.

In the event of the dissolution of this Society, all its property shall immediately become the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ARTICLE VII.

A separate fund shall be created, which shall be called the Endowment Fund, and all contributions for the purpose of procuring a building, with fire-proof facilities, for the Society, together with such other contributions as may be set apart or received for that purpose, shall be invested, at convenient times, in good securities.

ARTICLE VIII.

Such Endowment Fund shall be managed by three Trustees, who shall be elected annually in the same manner and at the same time as the officers of the Society.

ARTICLE IX.

One of the objects of the Society shall be to collect for the Library and the Cabinet the particulars hereinafter mentioned, namely:

For the Library.

- a. Narratives relating to dignitaries and benefactors of the Protestant Episcopal Church and Missions.
- b. Biographical notices of eminent and remarkable persons.
- c. Sketches and catalogues of schools, academies and colleges.
- d. Copies of records of proceedings of religious, literary, scientific or social bodies.
- e. Journals and newspapers.
- f. Manuscripts on any subject or of any date.
- g. Magazines and pamphlets.
- h. Church almanacs, directories, diaries, etc.

For the Cabinet.

- a. Prints, especially of persons, church buildings, etc.
- b. Pictures.
- c. Medals.
- d. Utensils.
- e. Any article of value from its historical or biographical affinities.

The following officers were elected:

President, Henry Budd, Esq.

Vice-President, Major Moses Veale.

Secretary, Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr.

Treasurer, Sydney L. Wright.

Members of Executive Board:

Term to expire 1911.

Rev. Arnold Harris Hord,

John E. Baird.

Term to expire 1912.

Rev. Henry Riley Gummey, D.D.,

John Thomson.

Term to expire 1913.

Allen Childs,

Albert S. Haeseler.

POST-CAROLINE REVISION ATTEMPTS
and
THE LONDON REPRINT OF THE PROPOSED
BOOK OF 1785/6.

By
WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, B.D., Ph.D.,
Member of the Society of Biblical Exegesis and Literature;
the American Oriental Society, Etc., Etc.

Delivered Before the Church Historical Society,
April 29, 1915.

Note.—The subject of this paper has so important a bearing upon the early history of the Church in America and on the Prayer Book, that its insertion out of the order of chronological succession has been deemed proper.—*W. I. R., Jr., Secy.*

"Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari."

That the Liturgy of the Church of England should have remained more than 200 years, since the passing of the Act of Uniformity of 1662, without any thorough revision, although it was revised no less than six times in the 125 years between the Reformation and the passing of that Act, is all the more surprising, when it is considered how many learned and pious men, both of the clergy and the laity, both in and out of the Church of England, at home and abroad, have at various times, and by various means, with a seriousness and sincerity becoming Christians, and with a temper and moderation the most unexceptionable, suggested the necessary improvements requisite to make it fully answer the end designed, and to do all the good of which it is so capable, if the proposed alterations were but adopted. These repeated attempts to amend and improve the Book of Common Prayer are a proof, at once, of the excellence of its composition as a whole, and of the defects of its subordinate and inferior parts.

I.

Attempts toward union with the dissenting brethren were constant and most earnest from the time of the Restoration.

In October, 1667, and February, 1668, were set on foot the two abortive schemes of comprehension, first perfected by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Sir Orlando Bridgman. The "Comprehensive Bill," as it was styled, was based on the declaration from Breda of Charles II., with a view of "relaxing the terms of conformity to the established church." It was drawn up by Sir Robert Atkins and the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Matthew Hale. It was revised and endorsed by Thomas Barlow and his friend John Wilkins, Bishop of Chester. The introduction of the bill was frustrated by a declaration of the House of Commons against it; and the plan was dropped. The project was revived for the time in 1674 by John Tillotson and Edward Stillingfleet, and arranged by them to the satisfaction of the leading nonconformists. But it was again defeated. For, it would, of necessity have brought in its wake a revision of the Articles and of the Prayer Book.

The one serious and official attempt at a reconstruction of the Liturgy in post-Caroline times was that which grew out of the revolution of 1688-89. In every previous crisis of political change, the Prayer Book had felt the tremor along with the statute-book. Church and state, like heart and brain, are sympathetically responsive one to the other. Revisions of rubrics go along with revisions of codes. It was only what might have been anticipated, therefore, that when William and Mary came to the throne, Parliament should request the king to summon Convocation "to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters." A royal commission, of ten bishops and twenty clerics was appointed September 17, 1689, to prepare alterations in the Liturgy and the canons, and to "water down" the Liturgy so as to make it acceptable to the dissenting brethren, who had warmly supported the revolution and whose services the king desired to requite, so as to secure their good will in the future. The commission numbered some great men, such as Edward Stillingfleet, John Tillotson and William Beveridge. Their report fell flat, and was never offered for adoption to Convocation, whose opposition was obvious from the very beginning. The Lower House of Convocation showed itself unfriendly to anything like concessive measures. Its opposition, however, was grounded not so much on love and veneration for the Liturgy as it stood then, as on political reasons. The

main body of the clergy were Tories. They were opposed to the attempts now made by the court and the bishops for the comprehension of dissenters as brethren in the Protestant religion. The more dignified part of the clergy, "the wearers of the gown and scarlet hood," as Dean Swift characterizes them, were by the careful exercise of preferments made agreeable to the king's wishes. Lacking nine of their ablest prelates, however, they were powerless to control the clergy, who were disposed to sympathize with Sancroft and his non-juring clergy. The prelates were Whigs and sympathized with the king's enlightened toleration policy as well as with his continental projects. They were Latitudinarians and were too advanced for the sturdy and narrow bigotry of the body of the clergy. Men like Burnet, Tillotson and Tenison, leaders of the Whig hierarchy of William, were in constant opposition to, and entirely out of sympathy with, the Lower House of Convocation and the interests which that house represented.¹ The almost sneering *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari* (we do not want the laws of England to be changed) of William Jane (1645-1707), the prolocutor of the Lower House, with which he ended his speech when he was presented to the president of the Upper House, put an end to the comprehension scheme.²

So complete was soon the obscurity into which the doings of the commission fell, that church historians as late as 1849 speak as if they knew nothing of the whereabouts of the records. In 1854 the manuscript of the minutes was discovered in the library of Lambeth Palace, and was printed as a Blue Book by order of the House of Commons. It can readily be seen that the guiding principles of the compilers of the Proposed Book of 1785/6 were, on the whole, those which characterized the work of the Commission of 1689. The American clergy undoubtedly drew their information from Birch's *Life of Tillotson*³ and from Calamy's *Abridgment of Baxter's Life*.

The title page of the Blue Book reads: "Book of Common Prayer . . . copy of the Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, prepared by the Royal Commissioners for the

¹ F. W. Wilson, *The Importance of the Reign of Queen Anne in English Church History*. Oxford, 1911, pp. 18-19.

² See also, Blackburne, Works, &c., Vol. 5, pp. 88 foll. (Cambridge, 1804.)

³ Thomas Birch, *The Life of the Most Reverend John Tillotson*. Compiled chiefly from his original papers and letters. London, 1752. VII, (1), 489, (1) pp. Sm. 8vo.

Revision of the Liturgy, in 1689. (Extracted from the original volume in the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, and accompanied by explanatory documents.) Ordered, by the House of Commons to be printed, 2 June, 1854." 110 pages. 8vo.

The text of the report of the commission is printed on pages 3-88 in two columns to the page, the one containing *the Printed Text*, 1683-86, the other, *Alterations and Amendments*, 1689. Pages 91-110 contain copies of illustrative documents, from the archiepiscopal records and the library at Lambeth Palace, consisting of (1) the Royal Commission to the Archbishop of York¹ and others, dated 17 September, William and Mary, 1689; (2) Diary of the Proceedings of the Commissioners, from 3 October to 18 November, 1689, written by Dr. John Williams, a commissioner and later Bishop of Chichester; (3) and (4) Directions, from the Dean of the Arches, respecting the custody of the interleaved copy of the Liturgy, containing the Alterations and Amendments prepared by the commission.

The alterations and amendments, amounting to 596, were prepared in an interleaved copy of a black-letter edition of the Book of Common Prayer. The document was not made public at that time and was supposed for many years to be lost. A copy was given to Dr. Calamy, the eminent dissenting divine, who thought that the scheme could have brought in two-thirds of the dissenters. His copy was lost by lending. An abstract was published by him in his *Life of Baxter*, page 452. The interleaved Prayer Book, however, was left with Dr. Thomas Tenison, later Archbishop of Canterbury. It passed, after his death in 1715, into the hands of Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, by whom it was deposited in the Lambeth library. The editing of the 1854 edition was made under the superintendence of William Henry Black (1808-1872), assistant keeper of the public records.

The proceedings of this attempted revision were, likewise, published in 1855, and entitled: "The Revised Liturgy of 1689: Being the Book of Common Prayer, interleaved with the alterations prepared for Convocation by the Royal Commissioners, in the first year of the reign of William and Mary. Edited from the copy printed by order of the House of Com-

¹The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, it will be remembered was removed from his archbishopric on his becoming a non-juror. His successor, Tillotson, was not consecrated until 1691.

mons, by John Taylor." London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1855. VIII pages, XVIII and 78 leaves. Large 8vo.

The introduction of Taylor's publication contains a brief but succinct history of the plans and the work of the commission. The revision of the commissioners ended with "The Commination Service," though several notes made in committee were attached to the remaining services. A note at the beginning of "The Psalms of David" says: "This translation was to be revised. Dr. [Richard] Kidder had done it; but it was not examined for want of time." This revision of the Psalms is probably somewhere still in existence. Another note appended to the "Form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons" says: "The Commissioners proceeded no further for want of time; the Convocation being met." This refers to the Convocation which began its sittings November 6, 1689.

II.

During the eighteenth century numerous attempts were made and pamphlets published by individuals and small groups both of clergy and laity to bring about a revision both of the Liturgy and of the Articles. The most noteworthy are these:

(1) The Rev. David Hughes, Fellow of Queens' College in Cambridge [A.B., 1725; A.M., 1729; S.T.B., 1738], had printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for January, 1737, "Some observations on the Church Liturgy, or the Scruples of a Country Curate." He maintained that "If it was thought *necessary*, in the year 1689 (almost *half a century ago*), to undertake a general *Review* of the *Common Prayer Book*, I am sure that the *same necessity* still subsists; and, I believe, will be thought by most people to be *now* somewhat *stronger*." Hughes, a country curate at Kent, in England, was a man of great modesty, liberality and knowledge of the Scriptures, and his memory was much revered at Cambridge for many years. Hughes' periodical article was soon redeemed from oblivion by appearing as an appendix in a book, which proved to be the forerunner of a number of similar productions. Early in 1749 was printed for Ralph Griffiths a pamphlet entitled:

(2) "The expediency and necessity of revising and improving the publick liturgy, humbly represented. Being the substance of an essay for a review of the Book of Common Prayer, so far as relates to that point. Annexed a letter in favour of a review, by a clergyman [*i. e.*, David Hughes]." London. VII,

136 pages. Small 8vo. The book, published anonymously, was written by John Jones (1700-1770), for many years vicar at Alconbury, hence generally known as Jones of Alconbury. The same year appeared also:

(3) "Free and candid disquisitions relating to the Church of England, and the means of advancing religion therein. Addressed to the governing powers in Church and State, and more immediately directed to the two Houses of Convocation." London, printed for A. Millar. MDCCXLIX. XXVII, 340 pages. 12mo. Its contents are an introduction, followed by thirteen chapters; a postscript and an appendix. The thirteen chapters treat of (1) Translation of the Bible; (2) Frame and design of the public service; (3) An occasional dissertation, containing a short inquiry, whether our first *service*, as distinct from, and independent on the other two may not be ordinarily sufficient for our stated matins, or morning worship on Sunday; (4) A general survey of the principal matter and general order of our *Liturgy*, with remarks; (5) *Queries* and observations relating to the Psalms, Lessons, Epistles and Gospels; (6) Athanasian Creed, catechism, collects, prayer for Parliament; (7) The several offices; (8) Suppletory offices, occasional prayers, calendar, rubrics; (9) Some objections considered. Correct printing of the Bible and Liturgy; (10) Articles, subscriptions, homilies, catechising, canons, oaths of churchwardens; (11) Certain grievances, generally complained of in the Church; (12) The application, relating to a review in general, as before proposed; humbly pressing it upon further motives, and fairly reconsidering the supposed difficulties; (13) The conclusion; wherein some farther considerations are urged in support of this address; and particularly with regard to its being made at this time.

The postscript contained "some occasional observations, occurring upon a review of the whole." The appendix sets forth the concurring judgment and declarations of several learned men of the Church of England, relating to some of the principal points contained in the foregoing disquisitions.

That Jones was only a part contributor and the editor of the book can clearly be seen even by a superficial reader. Who the authors really were has never been proved.⁵ The most important among the proposals of Jones and his collaborators were: (1) A new, critical translation of the

⁵ See also, Colligan, *The Arian Movement in England*, p. 108, note 1.

Bible; (2) the shortening of the morning services, *i. e.*, the Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the pre-Communion, which used to be read together; (3) a new lectionary; (4) discontinuance of the custom of private baptism, and (5) discontinuance of enforcing subscription on youths at schools. At the present time most of these proposals have been carried out. Many good churchmen would now agree with these authors that the reformation work had not been absolutely perfect; that even the Liturgy might be improved and that the Articles, written in time of hot controversy in the sixteenth century, long before the Church of England had reached a settled condition, were subjects open to amendment. Objection was also made against (1) the reading of the Athanasian Creed in divine service; (2) the burial office; (3) the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer during the same service; (4) the promiscuous reading of the Psalms, and (5) the Sunday lessons as ill-chosen and improperly divided.⁶

These modifications of the church services and of the ritual were proposed with a view of meeting difficulties of the Latitudinarian party within the Church of England, rather than to the comprehension of the dissenting brethren.

No sooner was the book published, than it was attacked by several churchmen, who feared that any step towards a further reformation would lead to the utter subversion of the Church of England. Among these attacks we may mention: "Remarks upon a treatise entitled *Free and Candid disquisitions relating to the Church of England, &c. In some letters to a worthy dignitary of the Church of Wells.*" Part the first. By a presbyter of the Church of England. London, 1750. 79 pages. 8vo. The author was John Boswell (1698-1756), vicar and schoolmaster of Taunton, England, and prebendary of Wells Cathedral. The greater part of his treatise is taken up with a vindication of the length of the public service, and the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy, maintaining—as did another writer in 1790—that in his church the Lord's Prayer was repeated each time within the record period of "twenty seconds."⁷ If that repre-

⁶ Further remarks on John Jones and the *Free and Candid Disquisitions*, see the *Monthly Review*, Series 1, Vol. 1, pp. 198-211 (London, 1749); John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 1, pp. 585-640; 3, pp. 15-17; 8, pp. 289-292 (London, 1812, 1814).

⁷ See further, the *Monthly Review*, Series 1, Vol. 2, pp. 406-407; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. 2, p. 507.

sented the custom in most churches, can we wonder at a contemporary statement, that "to the majority of church-goers, we fear that our excellent form of prayer is become little better than a mere *prayer of form*".?

In answer to Boswell's *Remarks*, Francis Blackburne then just made Archdeacon of Cleveland, entered the lists, without the participation or even knowledge of Mr. Jones or any of his more confidential associates, in an "Apology for the authors of *The Free and Candid Disquisitions*,"⁸ printed for Millar, 1750. Blackburne had read the "Disquisitions" in manuscript, but there was not a line nor a word in it written or suggested by him notwithstanding many confident reports to the contrary.

Boswell and his supporters were also answered in two volumes, published in 1750 and 1751, respectively, and entitled "An appeal to common reason and candor, in behalf of a review; submitted to the serious consideration of all unprejudiced members of the Church of England. With a word concerning some late Remarks upon the Free and Candid Disquisitions." 154 and 279 pages. 8vo.⁹ The *Appeal* provoked another broadside from Boswell, entitled "Remarks upon a treatise, intituled Free and candid disquisitions, relating to the Church of England, &c. In some letters to a worthy dignitary of the Church of Wells, wherein an attempt towards a discovery of the true and real design of the Disquisitions, is humbly submitted to the consideration of the serious and thinking members of the establishment." Part the second. By a presbyter of the Church of England. London, 1751.

The author maintained that, if the proposals of the disquisitors made and repeated again in their *Appeal* were put into practice, it would be a means of putting an end to "that little sense of religion, which is left amongst us." Their design, he proceeds to point out, "bids fair, unless timely prevented, to overturn our constitution in church and state." The author of the disquisitions he honors constantly with such genteel appellations as, "insolent schismatic," "sceptical trifler," "paultry sneerer," "impertinent caviller," &c., and in one place he calls him "a pert, impudent, prevaricating, sceptical knave."¹⁰

⁸ Published in his theological and miscellaneous works (Cambridge, 1804), Vol. 2, pp. 135-178.

⁹ See the *Monthly Review*, Series 1, Vol. 3, pp. 1-9; Vol. 5, pp. 81-86.

¹⁰ See further, the *Monthly Review*, Series 1, Vol. 6, pp. 62-69 (London, 1752).

III.

In the year 1766 Blackburne published anonymously his best-known book, "The Confessional: or, a Full and Free inquiry into the right, utility, edification and success of establishing systematical confessions of faith and doctrine in Protestant Churches." London: Millar. 8vo.

The work is an examination into the rise and progress of the requirement in Protestant Churches, as prescribed in the 36th Canon of the Church of England, and into the arguments brought in defence, or rather in excuse of it. Blackburne was greatly encouraged in the progress of his work by the bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Edward Law, and others. The book practically advocated the abolition of subscription not only to the Articles and the Liturgy, but to the Creeds themselves. It elicited many answers, the most effective, perhaps, being that of William Jones, of Nayland (1726-1800), in his "Remarks on the principle and spirit of a work, entitled 'The Confessional,' being a sequel to the second edition of 'A Full Answer to an Essay on Spirit' [by Bishop Robert Clayton]." London, 1770. 8vo. Jones took a true church line, by showing that what was really aimed at was latitude on the vital doctrine of Trinity.

Fifteen years before the publication of *The Confessional*, another anonymous writer had endeavored to promote the design of revising the Liturgy, Articles and Canons of the Church of England by a pamphlet, entitled "Reasons humbly offered for composing a new set of Articles of Religion: With twenty-one Articles of Religion, proposed as a specimen for improvement." London: Griffiths. 105 pages. 8vo. He quoted largely from Stillingfleet, Burnet, Nicholls, Bennet and other learned men, to shew that the present thirty-nine articles of religion admit of different interpretations; that a subscription to them does not in any manner contribute to prevent diversities of opinion in religious matters, or promote uniformity of sentiment; and that, consequently, the retaining of them, as they are now expressed in such doubtful and uncertain terms, cannot in any respect tend to the security of religion in general, or to the preservation of the Church of England in particular; since they are at present no bar to exclude any but such as are truly conscientious and deserving, who ought on no account to be kept out of the communion of the Church of England.¹¹

It was not until the year 1865 that even the clerical subscription was changed to its present form.

¹¹ *Monthly Review*, Series 1, Vol. 4, pp. 167-172.

One of the ablest books in opposition to Blackburne's *Confessional* was Archdeacon Thomas Rutherford's "A Vindication of the right of Protestant Churches to require the clergy to subscribe to an established confession of faith and doctrines, in a charge delivered at a Visitation in July, 1766." Cambridge, 1766. 8vo.

In 1767, a second edition of *The Confessional* appeared, enlarged by a preface, wherein Dr. Rutherford's principles were examined and some notes added, on particular passages, in the same charge, and in a vindication of it in answer to Dr. Benjamin Dawson's examination of Archdeacon Rutherford's charge.

A third edition of *The Confessional* was published in 1770. This was reprinted in 1804 as volume 5 of "The Works, theological and miscellaneous, of Francis Blackburne." Cambridge. (4), 559 pages. 8vo.¹²

A summary of the controversy started by *The Confessional* will be found in "A short view of the controversies occasioned by the Confessional [of Francis Blackburne] and the Petition to Parliament for relief in the matter of subscription to the Liturgy and thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England." [By John Disney. 2d edition. London, 1775.] XXII, 24 pages. 8vo. This second edition appeared seven years before Disney left the established Church and became a Unitarian and colleague of Theophilus Lindsey.

In 1768 Francis Stone (1738-1813) initiated the movement for a petition to Parliament for relief from clerical subscription. Blackburne drew up in 1771 a set of Proposals.¹³ Under the chairmanship of Stone a meeting was held at the Feathers' Tavern in the Strand and a petition to Parliament¹⁴ was signed by 250 persons, clergy and laymen, for giving effect to Blackburne's proposals, whose main object was to bring relief to the dissenters by the abolition of clerical subscription, so as not

¹² On *The Confessional*, see also Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. 3, pp. 10-21 (London, 1812).

¹³ Reprinted in Vol. 7, pp. 1-12 of his theological and miscellaneous works (Cambridge, 1804).

¹⁴ Reprinted, *ibid.*, pp. 13-19. These are followed in the same volume on pp. 21-31 by "A Sketch of Contradictions and inconsistencies in the obligations laid upon clergymen, in order to qualify themselves for ministering in the Church of England, as by law established" [first printed, 1772]; and this again, on pp. 33-228, by "Reflections on the fate of a petition for relief in the matter of subscription, . . . The 2d edition" [first printed, 1774].

to exclude them in the future from the universities and consequently, to some extent, from the liberal professions. The petition was presented to the House of Commons on February 6, 1772, by Sir William Meredith, Baronet. The bishops, however, were opposed to changes of any kind and were supported by the Government. It was rejected by a vote of 271 to 71, after a speech in condemnation, by Edmund Burke. The movement soon died out. In 1774 Francis Wollaston¹⁵ published "Queries relating to the Book of Common Prayer, &c., with proposed amendments. Addressed to those in authority and submitted to their consideration." London. 8vo.

The book was soon forgotten amidst the political disturbances created by the declaration of independence of the American colonies and the subsequent war of independence.

IV.

Two years after "The Church of England in America" had ceased to exist and had reappeared as "The American Protestant Episcopal Church," a General Convention, held in Philadelphia, drew up and framed their liturgy, known as "the Proposed Book." It embodied many of the proposals of the Royal Commission of 1689, for the enactment of which so many of the English clergy during the eighteenth century had striven in vain. While the Proposed Book was severely disapproved of by the English bishops and by many of the clergy of the American Church, it acted as a stimulus and incentive for fresh efforts on the part of many followers in England of John Jones, Blackburne and Wollaston.

In the year 1788 appeared "Hints, &c., submitted to the serious attention of the clergy, nobility and gentry, newly associated." By a layman, a friend of the *true* principles of the Constitution, in church and state, and to religious and civil liberty. London, 1788. 8vo. This first edition was recalled in consequence of the king's illness. Immediately upon the latter's recovery, a second, revised and enlarged, edition was issued in 1789. (4), 72 pages. 8vo. It urged the propriety of amendment of life by the upper classes, and greater attention to public worship, to insure which a revision of the Liturgy was necessary. On pages 55-72 the author prints David Hughes' "Scruples of a country curate," in confirmation of the arguments elucidated

¹⁵ Born 1731 and died 1815. Ordained deacon in 1754 and priest in the following year.

in his brochure. It is well known now that the writer was Augustus Henry Fitzroy, third duke of Grafton (1735-1811). It was through some of Bishop Watson's little tracts and his acquaintance with the new Liturgy of the American Church that Grafton turned his attention to religious inquiry.

Grafton's publication was attacked and his views condemned by several writers. Two pamphlets soon appeared, one entitled "A vindication of the doctrine and liturgy of the Church of England, in answer to a pamphlet, entitled 'Hints to the New Association,' and other late publications of a similar tendency. In a letter from a gentleman in the country to a friend in town." London: Debrett, 1790. 59 pages. 8vo. The author maintains that "there are *no* parts of the liturgy to which a candid person can reasonably object." Simultaneously came out "An apology for the liturgy and clergy of the Church of England: in answer to a pamphlet, entitled 'Hints, &c., by a layman.' In a letter to the author, by a clergyman." London: Rivingtons, 1790. 95 pages. 8vo. The "clergyman" has been supposed to be Samuel Horsley (1733-1806), Bishop successively of St. David's and St. Asaph.

The Duke of Grafton had been a patron of Richard Watson (1737-1816), Bishop of Llandaff (1782-1816), especially while the latter was regius professor of divinity at Cambridge. During his lifetime Watson was equally distinguished as a divine, a natural philosopher, a polite scholar and a politician. When the duke's views were condemned, he found a staunch defender in the bishop, who wrote "Considerations on the expediency of revising the liturgy and articles of the Church of England: in which notice is taken of the objections to that measure; urged in two late pamphlets." By a consistent Protestant. London: Cadell, 1790. (1), 112 pages. 8vo. A second edition appeared during the same year, 1790. "The reader," says a contemporary critic, "will here meet with the knowledge of a scholar, the liberality of a gentleman, and the seriousness of a Christian; and he will see an excellent specimen of that manly freedom and spirit, with which it is possible to assert our own opinions, without the smallest mixture of rudeness or offence toward those who differ from us. Without denying any one doctrine of the Church of England, the author has shown, that it is inherent in the very nature of Protestantism, and incumbent on all who would claim, with consistency, the title of Protestant, to maintain their Christian liberty; to press continually onward to higher degrees of perfection; and not

to abandon the principles, nor defeat the intentions, of their ancestors, by blindly acquiescing in *their* decisions, or in those of any other man, or number of men, however venerable and learned." ¹⁶

V.

Amidst the excitement created in England by these new attempts on the part of Lords, temporal and spiritual, and others, to bring about a revision of the Liturgy and the Articles, there appeared in London the reprint of the "Proposed Book of 1785/6." Its title, conforming to the original, reads:

The | Book | of | Common Prayer, | And Administration
of the | Sacraments, | And other | Rites and Ceremonies, | As
revised and proposed to the Use | of | The Protestant Episcopal
Church, | At a Convention of the said Church, in the State of |
New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, | Maryland,
Virginia and South-Carolina | Held in Philadelphia, from Sep-
tember 27th to October 7th, 1785, || Philadelphia, Printed: |
London, | Reprinted for J. Debrett, | Opposite Burlington
House, Piccadilly. | M; DCC; LXXXIX. |

The book has 362 unnumbered pages, the last page containing as *Errata* three corrections of printer's errors in the "Psalms fitted to the Tunes used in Churches, selected from the Psalms of David; Portions of which are to be sung at suitable Times in Divine Service, according to the Direction of the Minister." These errors are to be found also in the edition of 1786, without, however, being detected by the final proofreader. Hence, in the original output this last page (362) is blank.

The page of type in the London reprint measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches; that of the 1786 book $3\frac{2}{8}$ by 6 inches. The size of the page of paper, untrimmed, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches. The eight pages of engraved tunes of the 1786 output were not reprinted.

The reprint follows the original very closely in arrangement as well as in typography. Only now and then do the lines differ in the reprint from the arrangement in the original. In addition, there are several variations, chiefly in the calendar.

The two publications differ materially as regards the signatures:

The 1786 book is arranged as follows: Signatures a-e, in fours, for the introductory matter, *i. e.*, Nos. 1-4 of the table

¹⁶ See, also, *Monthly Review*, Series 2, Vol. 2 (1790), pp. 401-403.

of contents. Of these forty initial pages, pages 1-4 are blank, page 5, title; 6, Extracts from the Minutes of the Convention, and the certificate of the notary public; page 7, the contents of this book, reverse blank. Preface, pages 9-16. Pages 17-40 contain the three tables (Nos. 2-4 of table of contents). This introductory matter is printed in long lines across the page. The text proper is on signatures A-Z, Aa-Ss 2, in fours, Ss 3, reverse, is blank. Ss 4, obverse, contains the title: Tunes | suited to the | Psalms and Hymns | of the | Book | of | Common Prayer | ; reverse blank. Follow eight pages of engraved music. The text is printed in two columns to the page, excepting the selections from the metrical Psalms and the fifty-one hymns (Nos. 26 and 27 of the table of contents). At the end of the hymns is printed the line: *End of the Prayer-Book.*

The signatures of the London reprint are as follows: Introductory matter on a 3 and 4; b, 6 leaves; A, 6 leaves, and B 1, 2, 3 and 4. The text begins on B 5. Follows B 6, and C-P in twelves; Q, 6 leaves. The text ends on Q 5, obverse, with the words, "End of the *Prayer Book.*" The reverse contains *Errata*. The last leaf of this signature is covered with publisher's announcements. The distribution of the type into one or two columns is the same as in the Philadelphia imprint of 1786.¹⁷

In volume one of the *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America* (Boston, 1857), the late Bishop William Stevens Perry (1832-1898), at that time assistant minister at St. Paul's Church, Boston, Massachusetts, had printed on pages 219-221 the titles of eight early editions of the American Prayer Book, prior to A. D. 1800. The English reprint of the Proposed Book is mentioned here as No. III. In a note Bishop Perry further stated: "The only copy of this [*i. e.*, No. III] I have ever seen was in the library of the Rev. Wm. B. Stevens, D.D., of Philadelphia, and contains immediately under the book-plate of one of the English nobility, from whose collection it originally came, the manuscript note that only fifty copies were published—probably for the use of the English bishops who were then considering the request of the American Church for

¹⁷ On the importance of signatures in the examination of original and reprint see especially the article on "The duplicity of duplicates," by Falconer Madan, Bodleian Librarian in the University of Oxford, England, *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, London, 1914, Vol. 12, pp. 15-20.

the 'succession.' Its rarity may be also inferred from the fact of its re-publication as one of the volumes of 'Reliquiae Liturgicae, Documents connected with the Liturgy of the Church of England, Exhibiting the substitutes that have been successively proposed for it at home, and the alterations that have been made in the adaptation of it to other Churches. Edited by the Rev. Peter Hall, M.A. 5 volumes. 18°. Bristol, Eng., 1841." In the printed sermon of Bishop Perry, *The American Prayer Book revisions of 1785 and 1789*, delivered at Christ Church, Philadelphia, October 10, 1892, and printed in 1893, we find on page 17, note, the sentence "This work [the Proposed Book] was reprinted in London in 1789, and was highly praised in a critical notice in the *Monthly Review* (Vol. 80, p. 337)." The reference should rather read Series 1, Vol. 80, pages 387-390.

Thus Bishop Perry. He is followed by the Rev. Frederick Gibson in his bibliographical sketch of "The standard editions of the American Book of Common Prayer," contributed to the *Liturgiae Americanae* of William McGarvey (Philadelphia, 1895). Under the heading "Proposed Edition of the American Prayer Book," Dr. Gibson has printed on page LV "The short-lived 'Proposed Book' was printed in Philadelphia, Hall & Sellers, MDCCLXXXVI, 8vo, and 4000 copies of it were ordered to be published. A few of these were handsomely bound in red morocco with gilt ornamentation. It was reprinted in London, England, M, DCC, LXXXIX, 8vo, and from a manuscript note in Bishop Stevens' copy, as mentioned in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. I, p. 221, we learn that there were only *fifty* copies of this English Reprint published, and these were probably for the use of the English Bishops, who were then considering the request of the American Church for the 'Succession.'"

Likewise, John Wright, *Early Prayer Books of America* (1896), page 103, states "The book (of 1786) was reprinted in London in 1789, and the copies were limited, it is said, to *fifty*."

It is a matter of surprise that men of the type of Perry and Gibson should not at once have noted the anachronism in this statement concerning the *raison d'être* of the republication of the Proposed Book in 1789, two full years after Bishops White and Provoost had been consecrated, February 4, 1787; and that not one of the more recent writers on the Book of

Common Prayer should have found the right interpretation of the statement copied by Bishop Perry. The statement, although written on the inside front cover of the London reprint, had reference only to fifty copies of the 1786 output sent for examination to the English bishops. These copies were received by the bishops "the last day of April" [1786]. For, in their answer to the second address of the American clergy, which was read at the General Convention held at Wilmington, Delaware, October 10, 1786, the archbishops state that "The Journal of the Convention, and the first part of the Liturgy, did not reach us till more than two months after our receipt of your address [dated October 5, 1785], and we were not in possession of the remaining part of it, till the last day of April" [1786].

The committee appointed to edit the Proposed Book had sent the printed sheets to England as they came from the press, but through some miscarriage they had not reached the bishops at the time of their answer to the first address by the American clergy. Fifty copies of the four thousand of the Proposed Book were undoubtedly sent to England and to these applies the remark found by Bishop Perry in the London reprint, as stated above.

It is said by Procter-Frere, *A new history of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1905), page 238, that the Proposed Book "was reprinted in England with the label 'American Prayer Book'"; and Dean Hart, *The Book of Common Prayer* (1910), page 20, note 5, has it that the English reprint was put out "with the label 'American Prayer Book.'"

I have examined a number of copies of this London reprint, most of them in original cardboard covers and with untrimmed edges; but not one has the label "American Prayer Book." The statements of Frere and of Dean Hart can only mean that the whole output of 1789 was labelled by the publisher "American Prayer Book."

Upon inquiry, Dean Hart writes to me, 10th August, 1914, "My copy of the English reprint of the Proposed Book is in the original cardboard binding, untrimmed edges, and has a label on the back between the second and third ribs with

American
Common
Prayer

done with a pen. And I am confident that I have seen other copies thus labelled. . . ."

This, I believe, is most evident proof of the fact that the edition was not marked by the publisher as "American Prayer Book"; that, in every case, it was done by some early individual owner in England.

We hope to have, thus far, succeeded in relegating to the land of fairy-tales the stories of the limited output of the London reprint and of its being labelled, by the publisher, "American Prayer Book."

And, now, we are ready for the main question, why should this American publication, attacked, rejected and ignored in the country of its birth, have been republished in England fully three years after its original publication in America? Who had it reprinted and what was his purpose in so doing?

VI.

In the same year, 1789, in which this London reprint appeared, there was printed for John Debrett, a treatise, entitled "Observations upon the Liturgy. With a proposal for its reform, upon the principles of Christianity, as professed and taught by the Church of England; . . . by a layman of the Church of England, late an Under Secretary of State. To which is added, The Journals of the American Convention, appointed to frame an ecclesiastical constitution, and prepare a liturgy for the Episcopal Churches in the United States." London . . . (1), 212, (1) pages. Svo.

The author of these *Observations* writes on the subject of revision not with the asperity of a sectarian, but with the mildness of a friend to the national Church of England. He points out, in a dispassionate and agreeable manner, many defects in the Liturgy which evidently require amendment. Anxious for its prosperity and reputation, he longs to have its public service rendered wholly unobjectionable. He proposes no changes in the constitution, or discipline of the Church; he merely suggests the propriety of removing a few expressions from the Liturgy which he thinks it can very well spare.

Reviewing the Liturgy he summarizes under four heads the particulars in which the Church of England may be said to give offence to real Christians, who make the Holy Scriptures the rule of their faith.

Quoting the author as nearly *verbatim* as possible, we mention that:

"The first is the retaining in its articles and liturgy things or expressions which the most orthodox of the clergy think

it necessary to explain away in the pulpit, or give a very different meaning to from what the words made use of convey in their ordinary and usual acceptation" (p. 15). The author instances the teaching of the 9th, 11th and 13th articles of religion¹⁸ and the statement in the Catechism concerning the unworthy receiving of the Communion.

"Under the second head may be comprised such things in the articles or liturgy, which, perhaps, from a desire to avoid the danger of reforming too much, or to accommodate to the prejudices of men at the time, or from the fallibility of human reasons in those who compiled the articles and liturgy, are not *strictly* conformable to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, and cannot be *literally* proved from the New Testament" (p. 17). Among other instances mentioned under this heading as calling for revision the author says (p. 27): "I trust I shall live to see the Apostles' Creed in its *primitive* state, the only Creed of the Church of England. I say in its primitive state, for I do not find any warrant for the modern interpolation of Christ's *descent into Hell* as *that place* is considered by Christians as the place of punishment for the fallen angels and wicked men after judgment." . . . He calls to our mind the promise of Christ to the thief upon the cross: "*This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*. Now, if the soul of Christ went both to Hell (so the Apostles' Creed) and to Paradise (so the New Testament), which do they suppose it went to first? If to Hell, he must have taken the soul of the penitent thief along with him, who must have thought it at least a *round-about* way to Paradise, and entertained some apprehensions that his conductor had *mistaken the road*. . . . But if it be said that Christ or his soul went into Paradise and leaving *there* the penitent thief, went down *afterwards* into Hell, the article ought to have been so expressed, and his ascent into Paradise put before his descent into Hell" (pp. 31, 32). The excision from the same creed of the words "the Holy Catholic Church" and "The Communion of Saints" is likewise urged.¹⁹ He would alter the phrase "sitting at the right hand

¹⁸ Articles "Of original and birth-sin"; "Of the justification of man," and "Of works before justification."

¹⁹ These two articles of the Apostles' Creed are also omitted in the adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer to the use of Unitarians which the Rev. James Freeman prepared in 1785 for King's Chapel, in Boston. It is quite possible that the writer knew Freeman's publication, although he does nowhere in his book betray the slightest acquaintance with this socialized prayer book.

of God" for "hereby we express a belief and teach it to children, that God has hands."

"The third point, which has been the natural, though most unhappy, consequence of the preceding is the erroneous zeal of representing and defending the Athanasian Creed as *so literally* copied from the Evangelists and Apostles, that whosoever refuse his consent to every tittle of it, is considered as a disbeliever of Christ's Divinity, and a denyer of the three distinctions in the Divine Nature in which we are commanded to be baptized; and what is still more to be lamented, many who go to that creed to learn Christianity as conceiving it to contain nothing but what all Christians must and do believe, come away shocked or confounded, and in compliment to their own reason, or to preserve it, enlist under the banners of Deism; in so much, that I really believe that creed has made more Deists than all the writings of all the opugners of Christianity, since it was first unfortunately adopted in our liturgy" (pp. 37-39).²⁰

In addition to the Athanasian Creed, that opprobrium of orthodoxy, of which already Archbishop John Tillotson, in answer to Bishop Gilbert Burnet, in 1694, wished that "we were well rid of it," the author would also exclude the Nicene Creed, because neither are drawn in terms of Scripture nor can they be proved to have been used in the primitive Church. It is well known to the twentieth century student that the Nicene Creed is not the Creed of the Council of Nice nor the Athanasian Creed the work of St. Athanasius.

"The last head of complaint," our author continues, "I have to discuss is that the rulers of our church, though sensible themselves of these improprieties, continue to press them on their clergy and flocks, and oppose all attempts to reform and correct them" (p. 39).

Having thus finished his complaints the author imbibes hope for the near future from the proceedings of the American Church, stating that:

"Among the many and great advantages this kingdom has derived, as well as imminent dangers it has escaped, through the separation of the thirteen American States from its Government, may be reckoned the erection of an American Episcopal Church, independent of that of England; the heads of which have availed themselves of the opportunity to make those

²⁰ Herein the author is followed especially by Bishop Watson in his *Considerations*, pp. 29 foll.

reforms in the liturgy, which were long since proposed and settled by the great divines who flourished in the reign of Queen Anne. To the orthodoxy of this reformed liturgy, our whole illustrious bench of Bishops have set their seal, by the consecration of Bishops to preside over and superintend the American Church in the use of it.²¹ Thus sanctioned, I have caused it to be reprinted and published here, for the general information of all denominations of Christians, but especially the members of the established Church; and I have annexed to this paper [pp. 95-212] the proceedings of the American Convention, and the letters to them from the English Bishops upon the subject of their new establishment and reformed liturgy; and whoever reads them over, without feeling his *heart burn within him*, at the manifestations they display of that truly Christian spirit; that soundness of judgement and benevolence of heart which the writers so eminently possess, deserves not to be of the flock of such shepherds, or wants sentiment to enjoy the blessing within his reach" (pp. 40-42).

Thus, our author. And who was he? His name was William Knox. He was born in Ireland in 1732 and died at Ealing, near London, August 25, 1810. In 1756 he was appointed by Lord Halifax "one of his majesty's council and provost-marshal of Georgia." He returned to England in 1761. George Grenville (1712-1790) made him agent in Great Britain for Georgia and East Florida. In the interest of the Colonies, Knox sent a memorial to Lord Bute recommending the creation of a Colonial aristocracy and the inclusion in Parliament of representatives of the Colonies. His services as agent were dispensed with by resolution of the Georgia Assembly, November 15, 1765, for two pamphlets written in defense of the Stamp Act which Knox considered to be the least objectionable mode of taxation. In the same year, 1765, he gave evidence before committee of the House of Commons on the state of the American colonies, and from the institution of the secretaryship of state for America, in 1770, to its suppression by Lord Shelburne, in 1782, he acted as the under secretary. His views formed a basis for the conciliatory propositions of Lord North in 1776.

²¹ The author appears here to be either overenthusiastic or disingenuous. He knew quite well that the American Church before obtaining the succession had promised the English bishops the re-insertion of the clause in the Apostles' Creed omitted in the Proposed Book as well as the restoration of at least the Nicene Creed.

Knox was the author of many pamphlets, most of which dealt with the social, economic and religious affairs and conditions of the American colonies.

As of direct interest to this society I mention that in 1768 Knox drew up at the special desire of Archbishop Thomas Secker, three tracts on the conversion and instruction of the Indians and Negroes of the Colonies. And as the subject of two of these tracts was much agitated at the time when he published his *Observations*, he had them reprinted under the title "Three tracts respecting the conversion and instruction of the free Indians and Negroe slaves in the Colonies. Addressed to the Venerable Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in the year 1768. A new edition." London: Printed for J. Debrett . . . 1789. 39 pages. 8vo. Tract one is devoted to the Indians in the Colonies; tracts two and three to the Negro slaves in the Colonies.²²

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Church Historical Society: My task is done. I hope to have shown not only the identical person who had caused the Proposed Book to be reprinted; but also, and above all else, that its publication was, so to speak, the climax of the post-Caroline attempts at a revision of the Articles and of the Liturgy of the Church of England. That not one of the suggestions made so frequently and so urgently was then adopted was a great pity. But the mind of the eighteenth century was stiff and unbending to the last degree; or rather, there was in it a disastrous mixture of laxity in practice and narrowness in theory. "Our happy establishment" was right enough in their estimation, as it was then; and the general presumption was that any change would be for the worse.

Eighty years after the London reprint of the Proposed Book passed before any of the requests of John Jones and his collaborators were carried out, by the enactment of the new lectionary, in 1871, and the shortening of the morning service, in 1872.

During the last thirty years ecclesiastical conditions in England have greatly changed. The liturgical expansion which has been such a decided feature of the Catholic revival has grown apace. But up to the present time no thorough and satis-

²² On Knox see Almon's *Biographical, Literary and Political Anecdotes*, . . . Vol. 2, pp. 112-115. London, 1797. William Bacon Stevens, *History of Georgia*, Vol. 2, pp. 42-43; and the same author's *Discourse delivered before the Georgia Historical Society*, Savannah, on Friday, Feb. 12, 1841. Savannah, 1841, pp. 10-11.

factory revision of the rubrics and the liturgy, in general, has been made. Preparations, to be sure, are being carried on and have been published in the Report and the Minutes of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, printed in 1906.

The need of a thorough, yet conservative, revision of the Book of Common Prayer and its directions so as to adapt it to the wants of the modern, up-to-date congregation and church attendant is felt more and more in conservative as well as in liberal circles. That the call for such a revision is not confined to one party in the church, is proven by such publications as Frere's "Principles of liturgical reform" (London, 1911; 2d edition, 1914). "Prayer Book Revision. A plea for thoroughness. By a sexagenarian layman" (London, 1911), and the same author's "Notes on the intellectual condition of the Church of England" (London, 1914). Athelstan Riley, "Prayer Book Revision" (Alcuin Club Tracts, No. 9) London, 1911. T. A. Lacey, "Liturgical interpolations and the revision of the Prayer Book." London, 1912. In 1913 appeared "A Prayer Book revised; being the services of the Book of Common Prayer, with sundry alterations and additions offered to the reader. With a preface by the Rt. Rev. Charles Gore, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford." London, XXV. 259 pages. Small 8vo. An important contribution to the question of Prayer Book reconstruction" (*Guardian*). "Revision of the Book of Common Prayer from the point of view of a parish priest." By Rev. E. Boggis. Canterbury, 1914.

In conclusion I should like to call your special attention to a set of seven pamphlets which are perhaps not known to some here present, but are of great importance. Their general title is "Prayer Book Revision series." Edited by Canon Beeching. London, 1910. Each numbering 32 pages. 12mo. The series represents fairly the general attitude of the clergy of the Church of England toward a new revision. Of the seven tracts the editor, Canon Henry Charles Beeching, contributes the first on "The desirability of revision." The two main points at issue appear to be the Ornaments Rubric and the Athanasian Creed,²³

²³ On the creeds in modern literature see, *e. g.*, Rt. Rev. Edgar C. S. Gibson, *The Three Creeds*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. [The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.] W. S. Bishop, *The Development of Trinitarian Doctrine in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds*. New York, 1910. A. B. Crane, *The Creed of Righteousness; or the Justification by Faith of the Psalm Quicunque*. London, 1907. C. Gore, Bishop of Oxford, *The Athanasian Creed in Oxford house papers*. 3d Series. London, 1897. C. A. Heurtley, *A History of the*

the latter rejected also *in toto* by Frere. The Very Rev. Joseph Armitage Robinson, dean of Westminster and one of the greatest biblical students of England, discusses "Some practical proposals regarding the revision of the Prayer Book." After a consideration of the points *pro* and *contra* as to changes affecting the Ornaments Rubric, the Athanasian Creed, the Lectionary, and the Psalter, the dean states (pp. 30, 31): "I should wish to see an authoritative Appendix to the Book of Common Prayer, containing some additional prayers and services, and some over-riding rubrics. . . . Such an Appendix might be approved even by Parliament without risking any interference with the Prayer Book, such as many persons not unnaturally dread. After a generation it could, if need be, undergo revision in the light of experience. Presently the time would come for what the lawyers know as codification, and a revised Prayer Book would be the result." The Very Rev. Edward Clarke Wickham, dean of Lincoln, writes on "Revision of rubrics, its purpose and principles." "The Revision of the Lectionary" is taken up by the Rev. William Emery Barnes, Hulsean Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. The dean of Christ Church, Oxford, the Very Rev. Thomas Banks Strong, expresses as to "the use of the *Quicumque vult* in divine service," the conviction that the case for a change of the present rubric is overwhelming. The *Quicumque vult* is a canticle or psalm, but *not* a creed, even though it is thus

Earlier Formularies of Faith of the Western and Eastern churches: added an Exposition of the Athanasian Creed. London, 1892. D. Maclean, *The Athanasian Creed*. London, 1902. [The St. Paul's Handbooks.] R. O. P. Taylor, *The Athanasian Creed in the Twentieth Century*. Edinburgh, 1911. K. S. Guthrie, *Critical Essays on the Two Creeds: the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds, and the Lambeth Articles*. In his *The Soteriology of Jesus*. Philadelphia. [1896.] M. MacColl, *Christianity in Relation to Science and Morals*, 3d edition. London, 1890. (Lectures on the Nicene Creed.) F. Palmer, *Studies in theological definition underlying the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds*. New York, 1895. H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed: its relation to primitive Christianity*. London, 1894. Adolf Harnack, *The Apostles' Creed*. London, 1901. H. C. Beeching, *The Apostles' Creed*. New York, 1905. W. R. Richards, *The Apostles' Creed in Modern Worship*. New York, 1906. Of special interest to the members of the Society will be the many contributions of Andrew Eubank Burn, the learned vicar of Halifax, England, viz., *An Introduction to the Creeds and to the Te Deum* (1899); *The Athanasian Creed and Its Early Commentaries* (1896); *The Apostles' Creed* (1906); *The Nicene Creed* (1909), and *The Athanasian Creed* (1912), three booklets published in the series called "The Oxford Church Text-books"; *Facsimiles of the Creeds from Early Manuscripts* (1909) = Henry Bradshaw Society Publications. Vol. 36.

called in the Prayer Book. It was written in the south of France, or possibly in Spain, during the fifth century, a century of appalling disasters, brought about, to a large extent, by the Arian heretical Goths and Vandals. It was then that the processional litanies sprung up. It was then that the *Quicumque* *vult* was composed and chanted as a war cry, a manifesto, a declaration of faith. "The Revision of the Prayer Book Psalter" should be thorough going according to the Rt. Rev. Herbert Edward Ryle, Bishop of Winchester and leading Old Testament scholar. "At present the Prayer Book Version deserves to be regarded much more in the light of a generally good and beautiful paraphrase made by good Miles Coverdale, than of an accurate, literal or scholarly translation. But, as a paraphrase, it admits of being relieved of numerous grave defects which needlessly impair its intelligibility and its accuracy." The last pamphlet of the series contains a scholarly discussion of "The Ornaments Rubric" by the Rt. Rev. Archibald Robinson, Bishop of Exeter. "It would be well worth the while of all to make sacrifices of private predilection; of High Churchmen to allow the prohibition, of Low Churchmen to consent to the authorisation of vestments, if only we could get back to clear authority" (p. 31).²⁴

*The Boston Public Library,
Boston, Massachusetts.*

²⁴The provincial convocations of the Church of England have been busy during the year 1914 with revision proposals. The Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury decided on Wednesday, February 10, 1915, in accordance with the report of the joint committee on the revision of the Prayer Book, not to embody the proposed changes in the text, but to issue them in a separate volume or schedule for optional use for a period at present not settled. This decision represents the state of opinion and the limits of authority in the Church at present. The Book of Common Prayer, with all its claims for recognition, is not strictly followed today; and no revision of it seems likely to win general acceptance. On the report of the Joint Committee on Prayer Book Revision, see the *Guardian* (London, England), February 25, 1915, p. 174. A criticism of this report from the Roman Catholic point of view is printed in the *Tablet*, March 6, 1915, pp. 297-298. A sermon on "Prayer Book Revision," preached by Canon Beeching before the University of Oxford, Sunday, November 30, 1913, is printed in full in the *Guardian*, December 5, 1913, pp. 1536-1537; and, an address on Prayer Book Revision, by Chancellor Edward Russell Bernard, of Salisbury Diocese, in the same weekly, April 22, 1915, p. 348.

November 9, 1910.

The second meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Lecture Room of the Widener Free Library, Philadelphia, Wednesday evening, November 9, 1910, the vice-president, Major Moses Veale, presiding.

The Rt. Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh, delivered the following address upon the "Early History of the Church in Western Pennsylvania":

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

By the Rt. Rev. Cortlandt Whitehead, D.D., LL.D., Bishop
of Pittsburgh.

The records of the Episcopal Church in Western Pennsylvania now accessible do not extend beyond the year 1792. There can be little doubt that its services and sacraments were frequently celebrated before that date. In 1758 General Forbes obtained possession of the ground at the forks of the Ohio, and there created Fort Pitt. The colonial government of Pennsylvania was desirous of opening an accessible communication with that distant post, and accordingly dispatched Colonel Burd with two hundred men to open the road from Braddock's trail at the western base of Small Hills to the Monongahela River at Redston Old Fort (now Brownsville, Penna.). The Rev. Dr. Allison accompanied the expedition as chaplain, and was doubtless the first Episcopal, or at that time, Church of England, or Protestant clergyman, that had ever preached west of the Alleghenies. How long Dr. Allison remained, or what became of him, we have no means of knowing. From the year 1758 Fort Pitt was occupied as an English military station and the site of the present city of Pittsburgh was laid out and building begun about 1764, by settlers almost exclusively of English descent. It is hardly probable that such an important point was wholly neglected by the clergy of the Established Church, or that so many families of Church people as then resided in the neighborhood would have been content to give up entirely the Christian privileges to which they had been used.

However this may have been, it is certain that no definite attempt was made to organize and perpetuate the Church of England in this part of Pennsylvania before the Revolution, or the Episcopal Church after it, until towards the closing years of the last century. Even the venerable "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," to which we owe so largely the planting and nurture of the Church before the separation from the mother country, appears to have made no effort to care for its members in Western Pennsylvania. In Bishop Perry's voluminous collection of historical documents relating to this time and region there are but two incidental references to Fort Pitt, and they have no connection with the work of the Church.

The farthest station westward seems to have been Carlisle.

The timidity and inertia of the bishops, influential clergy and laity in the eastern part of the state during the fifty years following the War of Independence are notorious, and would be surprising did we not know the difficulties with which they had to contend. The popular prejudices which existed against the clergy, who for the most part had adhered to the king's side in the great struggle, extended to the Liturgy, and the whole system of the Church to which they belonged. The Episcopal Church was everywhere on the defensive. It was considered essentially monarchical and aristocratic in its spirit and influence; unsuited to the wants of the people of a Republic. So strongly did this public sentiment affect the rulers of the Church that for a long time nothing more was done than to keep alive existing congregations. The idea of extending the work of the Church into new regions was hardly thought of. Up to the year 1811, we are told on good authority, that not only was there no growth throughout the United States, but a positive decrease, especially of clergy, and one of the foremost of the bishops expressed the opinion that its ultimate extinction was only a question of time.

Nevertheless we have unquestionable proof that in the whole region west of the mountains there was a numerous body of people, by birth and education attached to the Church, who would have gladly welcomed its services and might easily have been kept in its communion. Our principal authority on this point is the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, M.D. He was himself born in Bedford County, Penna., within one hundred miles of Pittsburgh, in 1769, and for some time resided in Washington County, in the near neighborhood. To him we owe many interesting details of the condition of things in the Church about the close of the last century; and it was mainly through his persistent efforts that the attention of Eastern churchmen was gained to the work to be done in this region. He was himself a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, and spent his life in constant missionary labor in Western Virginia and Southern Ohio. He held the first Christian service in Washington, Penna., in 1792. Some rowdies were hired by a prominent whiskey vender to intimidate the young preacher, and prevent his return to preach in the place. This we are told as a tradition in a letter of Dr. Doddridge's daughter to Bishop Kerfoot in 1873.

We are indebted to the late Hon. Judge Scott, of Chillicothe, Ohio, an early and intimate friend of Dr. Doddridge,

for some reminiscences of his life and early labors in the ministry.

Mr. Scott was in his earlier years an itinerant in connection with the *Wesleyan Society*, and travelled extensively in Western Virginia. He says: "My acquaintance with the Rev. Joseph Doddridge commenced in 1788, at the house of the Rev. J. Jacob, in Hampshire County, Va. He was in company with the Rev. Francis Asbury. At the request of Rev. F. Asbury, Dr. Doddridge studied the German language, in which he acquired such proficiency as to be able to address a congregation in that language. In subsequent years he found that acquisition very valuable, as a medium of communication with the German population of the country. He was held in high estimation by Mr. Asbury, and although he was but little more than nineteen years of age, he was a successful and highly esteemed laborer in our Society."

His connection with this Society, however, was not of long continuance. Being called from his field of labor to the paternal mansion in 1791, by the sudden death of his father, in consequence of which event, his step-mother and the younger members of the family were placed in circumstances requiring for a time his personal supervision, the youthful itinerant felt it to be his duty to resign his charge, and in conformation with the last wish of his deceased parent, who had appointed him executor of his will—to apply himself to the settlement of the estate. This accomplished, finding himself in possession of some available means, he resolved to qualify himself more thoroughly for the responsible calling he had chosen, by devoting some time to perfecting his education; and with this view, accompanied by his brother Philip, he entered Jefferson Academy, at Canonsburg, Penna., they being among the first students at that pioneer literary institution, in what was at that period in the Trans-Montane States, the "Far West."

The Wesleyans having laid aside the Prayer Book or ritual designed to be used on occasions of public worship by the founder of their Society (a formula which Dr. Doddridge's judgment sanctioned as being beautifully appropriate and highly edifying), he did not therefore resume his connection with them after his return from Canonsburg, but diligently applied himself to an examination of the claims of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with a view to offering himself a candidate for Orders in its ministry. Having become satisfied during the progress of his investigations, and fully prepared, he was, in

1792, in Philadelphia, admitted to the Order of Deacons, by the Rt. Rev. William White, and some years later, in the same place, to the Order of Presbyters, by the same Reverend Prelate.

"During the year 1793," says Mr. Scott, "I occasionally attended the ministrations of this zealous advocate of the Gospel of Christ, at West Liberty, which had until recently, been the seat of Justice for Ohio County, Va., and the residence of many respectable and influential families. At this place, divine worship was held in the Court House. Although still quite a young man, Dr. Doddridge was an able minister of the New Covenant. When preaching he spoke fluently, and there was nothing either in his manner or language that savored of pedantry or rusticity; yet he did not possess that easy, graceful action which is often met with in speakers in every other respect his inferiors; but this apparent defect was more than compensated by the arrangement of his subject, the purity of his style, the selection and appropriateness of his figures, and the substance of his discourses. He was always listened to with pleasure and edification, commanding the attention of his hearers not so much by brilliant flights of imagination or rhetorical flourishes, as by the solidity of his arguments, and the lucid exhibition of the truths which he presented for their prayerful and deliberate consideration."

The Rev. George Brown, in his "Itinerant Life," says: "I heard the first sermon ever preached in the town of Steubenville. It was called the 'Christening Sermon,' and was delivered by the Rev. Joseph Doddridge, in an upper room in the old log Court House, in 1796." He held occasional services in that place until the Rev. Intrepid Morse took charge of the parish.

About the year 1800, Dr. Doddridge removed to Charlestown, now Wellsburg, Va., and while laboring there, he learned that many families reared in the Episcopal Church, had settled west of the Ohio River, and that they were wholly destitute of spiritual guidance and instruction. To those of them within a convenient distance, he was in the habit of making frequent visits, holding worship in temples not made with hands, but by the great Architect of Nature. About this time he formed the nucleus of S. James' Church, Cross Creek, Ohio, which subsequently under his ministry, expanded into a flourishing parish, and is still in existence. Some years later, he collected congregations at St. Clairsville and Morristown, in Belmont County, in both of which churches were erected, and for some

years the prospect of permanence seemed good. But for want of pastoral teaching and supervision both congregations, since Dr. Doddridge's death, have been dispersed and their church edifices demolished or appropriated to secular uses.

At Charlestown, his place of residence, and at Wheeling, he had large congregations. The latter kept together by occasional visits and services until a resident pastor could be obtained for it, the Rev. John Armstrong. In addition to the church in Charlestown, S. John's, of which Dr. Doddridge retained the pastorate for thirty years, another one called S. Paul's was also formed in Brooke County.

Speaking of his missionary labors in a letter to Bishop Moore, of Virginia, in 1819, he says: "With the view to the attainment of an Episcopacy in this as early as possible, I have devoted much of my clerical labors to the State of Ohio, under the impression that that object could be more speedily accomplished by the forming of congregations in a State where there was no Bishop, than by doing the same thing in the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia, in each of which there was a Diocesan."

To the doctrines and formularies of the Protestant Episcopal Church he was ardently attached, and although for more than twenty-five years he occupied the position of advance guard in the minority, yet he faltered not in his labors, but untiringly devoted himself to promote its growth and prosperity, and also to awaken a practical interest in the Eastern Dioceses, by frequent and earnest appeals to their bishops and clergy, in behalf of the scattered members of the fold, who in the vast regions of the West were wandering as sheep without a shepherd.

At the time when Dr. Doddridge took Orders in the Episcopal Church, he resided in Pennsylvania, but some years subsequent to that event, as previously stated, he removed to Virginia. Owing, however, to the distance of his residence from the Bishop of the Diocese, and the great difficulty, at that early period, of holding correspondence with him, with the consent of Bishop White, he continued in fact, although not canonically, under the jurisdiction of the latter, and accordingly during many years all his communications relative to the Church were made to him.

His correspondence with his clerical brethren was extensive, and we regret that our limits will admit so small a portion of it. The following letters to Bishop White and Bishop

Hobart are lengthy ones, and of later date than we have now reached, but as they contain a recapitulation of events that had transpired relative to Church matters in the West, during the preceding fifteen years, they are appropriate at this point and we prefer quoting from the documents rather than to give their substance in our own words.

LETTER FROM DR. DODDRIDGE TO BISHOP HOBART.

December, 1816.

Right Reverend Brother:

The situation and wishes of your Episcopalian brethren in this country have no doubt reached you through various channels ere this, some time past.

Some five or six years ago, in 1810, the few Clergymen in the western part of Pennsylvania and Virginia held a meeting relative to Church matters among us, in which it was resolved that I should open a correspondence with Bishop White for the purpose of obtaining, through him, permission from the General Convention to form ourselves into a Convention in the Western Country. I did it accordingly, and accompanied the request with as full a statement as I could make at that time concerning our congregations and prospects here.

Eighteen months elapsed before I heard of the fate of our petition, and that the project had been laid aside on account of the death of Bishop Madison. (March 6, 1812.) I then lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our Church in this part of America. Everything fell into a state of languor. The Vestries were not re-elected; our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent this when I indulged no hope of a successor in the ministry? When I had no expectation that even my own remains after death would be committed to the grave with the funeral services of my Church? The circumstances of my residence being at some distance from those of my brethren in the Ministry, and of my being the junior in years among them, brought this melancholy prospect more frequently before my mind. I resolved, however, that I would not desert my post of duty, and with God's help, I will not. How often did I reflect with feelings of the deepest regret and sorrow, that if anything like an equal number of professors of any other Christian community had been placed in Siberia or India, and equally dependent upon a supreme ecclesiastical authority in this country, that they would not have been so neglected, that a request so reasonable would have met with prompt and cheerful compliance! With the voice of the first

missionary in the western part of Pennsylvania my hope began to revive. When I heard the "glad tidings" of the good and great work among the Episcopalians in the Eastern States, I also heard of the zeal and activity of Bishops White and Hobart in their respective Dioceses.

I resolved through divine assistance that another effort should be made amongst us to raise and build up our fallen Zion. With a view of ascertaining the practicability of planting Churches to the "Westward," in the fall of 1815, I made a missionary excursion in Ohio, as far as Chillicothe, performing divine service in all the intermediate towns. I found skeletons of congregations in almost every place. In the past summer the Rev. Mr. Kilbourne called at my house on his return from the Eastward, and related a conversation which he said he had had with you on ecclesiastical affairs, informing me that you advised the immediate call of a Convention of all our Clergymen, and the election of one of them for Bishop; and that the General Convention would certainly confirm our action and consecrate the Bishop elect. He proposed his residence, Worthington, as the place of holding the Convention. This I reluctantly acceded to, although I knew that place to be improperly chosen, being so far from our three Presbyters in the western part of Pennsylvania, who are all too advanced in years to undertake so long a journey. Accordingly they did not attend, but wrote us their acquiescence in any measures we might think proper to adopt, two of them going so far as to name their choice for Bishop. The result of this meeting may be seen in the circular and copy of petition which accompany this. On many accounts I thought any attempt to elect a Bishop would be premature. Our people, although anxious, were by no means prepared for the event. These papers, however, have had a good effect; they have turned the attention of the laity to the subjects of a western convention and a Bishop. Since then, several new congregations have been formed, of which I am at present the pastor, viz.: one at Zanesville, formed in October, 1810; one at St. Clairsville, one in Jefferson County, Ohio, in 1802; S. James', on Cross Creek, and several more, I hope, will shortly be formed in Ohio. These, in addition to the congregations which I have in Virginia, make me the pastor of six congregations at the present time; and in the course of next spring two more, I trust, will be organized. In some of the places my absence is supplied by a Lay Reader, who performs divine service every Sunday. There are, I think, three congregations in and about Worthington, Ohio. How many there are at present in the western part of Pennsylvania I have not been informed. I think it probable that by the time of the sessions of the General Convention the whole number of our con-

gregations in the country will exceed twenty. The number of our Priests within my knowledge is four, that of Deacons two.

I shall now proceed to state such facts with regard to the religious and moral character of the people of the Western States generally, as may enable you to judge whether any attempts to build up our fallen Zion here have probable chance of success.

It must be well known to you that the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, the Territories of Mississippi and Illinois, the State of Indiana, as well as some large districts in the State of Ohio, have been settled by emigration for the most part from Maryland and Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia. Most, if not all of these states, were before the Revolution, Crown States, and their inhabitants members of the established Church. The western part of Virginia has received the population from the same source. The people still retain many of the distinguishing features of the general characteristics of their forefathers, the Royalists of the reigns of Kings Charles I. and II. Among these traits of character is that of a strong dislike to Puritanism, and this is one that still exists among them in considerable force. No great number of them have ever united with the Presbyterians. You may have supposed from the pompous reports which have appeared from time to time concerning the progress of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Anabaptists in the western countries, that they had long before now swallowed up almost all the population of this country. Not so, for with the exception of the western part of Pennsylvania, go where you will, you will find from one-third to one-half the population of the towns and villages and their neighborhoods of no religious profession whatever. Ask them concerning the religion of their forefathers. They all answer, they were Church people. Many of these people still retain an old Prayer Book as a venerable relic of antiquity. They still have a reverence for Baptism and the Lord's Day. The Church, they say, was once pure and good, but now it is fallen, and they fear will never be revived again.

About fifteen years ago the "Age of Reason" of Thomas Paine took a rapid and extensive circulation through this country, and I regret to say that these people were very extensively the dupes of that infamous work. This infidelity is fast wearing away, and they begin to feel, I trust I may say, in common with more than half the world, the necessity of piety to God. My experience warrants me in saying that an Episcopalian missionary will not have to encounter the difficulties incident to the propagation of a new religion. No, he will everywhere find the skeletons of congregations and strong predilection in his favor. I will give you two examples which go to

show what can be done for our Church in this country. The first is Zanesville. I visited this place in the fall of 1815 on my way to Chillicothe, and held service on a week-day. On my return I held service on Sunday. They then reported to me about forty persons who were all of our Church. In October, 1816, on my way to Worthington, to attend the Convention previously mentioned, they formed themselves into a congregation, and appointed Dr. H. Reed as delegate. On my return I officiated on Sunday, and administered the Sacrament. From the list of names attached to the petition which they have sent me, it appears that their congregation is already large, wealthy and respectable, and they talk of building a Church next summer. The next is St. Clairsville, formed in 1813. For three years past I have visited this place two or three times a year on account of a few Episcopalian families of my particular acquaintance. Since the meeting at Worthington, they have formed themselves into a congregation, which at present consists of fifty families, and the warden who took the signatures to the petition informed me that they will, in a short time, be joined by as many more. At Morristown, ten miles from the above place, there will shortly be a congregation of at least fifty. In all of these places a short time ago, the name of an Episcopalian was scarcely mentioned. In how many places might the same thing be done if we had laborers for the work! I shall now state the measures which appear to me necessary for the creation of Episcopal Churches in this country.

The first is a Convention, for the reasons stated in the accompanying circular. Alas! my brother, how little reason has the Bishop of Virginia to regret a concurrence in this measure, when I am under the painful necessity of stating that I am the only Episcopal Clergyman in the western part of Virginia, where by this time there ought to have been at least forty! If the whole western part of the state should be thought too much, the counties of Brook, Monongahela, Harrison, Randolph, Ohio and Tyler will be sufficient. In this session he will lose but one Clergyman.

The next is a Bishop. The very idea of a Bishop several hundred miles from his flocks is discouraging in the extreme. The Methodist Bishops have been frequently through this country, and even the Catholics, though few in number, have been comforted by the presence and services of their Episcopal Pastor. No such event has happened to us. For many great and important purposes well known to you, the holy Episcopal office, to be serviceable, should be at hand. Our people here wish and pray for this, and I trust we are worthy of an Episcopate among ourselves. It must not be made by a number of Presbyters less than six. Might not deacons be allowed to vote? Might not a lay delegate from each organized congregation be

allowed to participate in the important decision? If allowable in any case, it would be highly acceptable here. As we have material for forming congregations here, so I trust there are some for the Ministry. The clerical profession is becoming reputable in this country. Some physicians and lawyers have expressed a desire to take orders in the Church. Could it be done with convenience? When I reflect upon the little which has been done for the promotion of our Church in this extensive region, I feel abased. If I should say that there are at present half a million of Episcopalians and their descendants in the western country, including the whole of Western Virginia, I verily believe that I should not be justly chargeable with exaggeration. What has been done for the spiritual interests of these people? Almost nothing at all. Had we imitated at an early period the example of other societies, employed the same means for collecting our people into societies, and building Churches, and with the same zeal, we should have had by this time four or five Bishops, surrounded by a numerous and respectable body of Clergy, instead of having our very names connected with a fallen Church. Instead of offering a rich and extensive plunder to every sectarian missionary, we should have occupied the first and highest station among the Christian Societies of the West. Ought we not to hasten to gather those still within our reach? Yes, they wish, they pray, for our Bishop. Oh! let that assistance which they consider so necessary for their eternal welfare be no longer withheld! In the course of next spring, 1817, I shall send a file of petitions, with a detailed report of each place and congregation from which they come, to Bishop White, who will commit them to the hands of the Secretary of the General Convention.

I humbly hope, Right Reverend Brother, that you will freely and speedily communicate to me your remarks on our proceedings in this very interesting and important business. If in anything we have done amiss or omitted anything we ought to have done, let us know it.

Your brother in Christ,

JOSEPH DODDRIDGE.

LETTER FROM DR. DODDRIDGE TO BISHOP WHITE.

Wellsburg, December 14, 1818.

Right Reverend and Dear Brother:

Yours by the Rev. Mr. Johnson came duly to hand. Its contents gave me no small degree of grief, but the arrival of Mr. Chase, which took place soon after the receipt of your

letter, dissipated the uneasiness occasioned by the prospect of a failure in our endeavor to attain an Episcopacy in this country, a majority of the Committees having signed the requisite testimonials. Thus an event which ought to have taken place many years ago is likely to take place at last.

The contents of your letter seem to require from me a frank and candid statement of my views in doing what I have done for the benefit of the Episcopal Church in this country, together with the treatment I have received from my clerical brethren from first to last.

Considering the Christian religion as the basis of all that is good and great among men, I sincerely wished for its promotion in that profession whose doctrines appeared to me truly evangelical, and whose forms of worship unite *piety*, *morality* and *edification* in the most effectual manner, and on the broadest basis. Such was and still is my view of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

I trust I possess all the Christian charity which is due from me to the religious societies of this country, and I am free to say that much is due to them for the zeal and steadiness with which they have prosecuted their pious labors. To the Presbyterians alone we are indebted for almost the whole stock of the literature of our country. They began their labors at an early period of the settlement of the country, and have extended their ecclesiastical educational establishments so as to keep pace with the extension of our population, with a godly care and diligence which do them honor. Before they were able to build even their log meeting-houses, they officiated in tents in the woods, with the little contributions their poor people were able to give they built academies, some of which are now colleges.

The Roman Catholic Clergy, without making any ostentatious parade, are traversing every part of the country in search of their scattered flock, and carrying the ministry to almost every family of their people. I am informed that they have already two colleges in Kentucky, a Bishop in the state, and another in Louisiana. At David's Town, in Kentucky, they are building a large Cathedral. Whether this statement as it respects the colleges and Bishop is correct, I am not able to say, but presume it is.

Were it not for the Herculean labors of the Methodist Society, many of our remote settlements would have been at this time almost in a state of barbarism. The cabins of our settlements were scarcely built and the little fields scarcely enclosed, before the missionaries of this society appeared among them, formed them into societies, and taught them the principles and duties of our holy religion.

There is scarcely a single settlement in the whole extent of our western country which has not been blessed with the ministry of this people, and to this ministry the public morality and piety are immensely indebted.

With the Anabaptists I have little acquaintance, but I have been informed that many of their establishments are respectable. The settlements and meeting-houses of the Friends in the State of Ohio are numerous and in a flourishing condition.

All these communities, as to everything belonging to Apostolic zeal for the salvation of the world, have certainly gone far beyond ourselves. They have not waited for a request from their people for spiritual help, but have gone into "hedges and highways," or to use a more appropriate phraseology, into the "brush and woods" to seek for them; and their arduous labors have, for the most part, been marked with a degree of disinterestedness which entitles their Clergy to highest credit.

I feel a reluctance to finding fault with religious societies so commendable for zeal, and so abundant in labors for good, but the doctrinal points of difference between the Calvinist and the Episcopalian are so important in the view of a great number of both communities, that they are not likely ever to get rid of the ancient prejudices of the Churchman and the Puritan against each other. At any rate, it has so happened in this country, for notwithstanding the destitute condition of our Church here, very few of her members have attached themselves to any description of Presbyterians.

It is a subject of great regret that the Calvinists in this country are cleft into so many divisions, and that they are so much the Jews and Samaritans to each other. These divisions and contentions are reproaches to the Reformation, the scoff of Catholics and unbelievers. How much is the value of their public profession of religion lessened by the apparent want of that charity which the Saviour of men so strongly points out as one of the distinguishing features of the divine character.

I formerly indulged the hope that the Methodist Society would, sooner or later, in obedience to the order of their spiritual father, John Wesley, adopt the use of the service book which he gave them, and that with the increase of their numbers and wealth, they would found literary establishments in this country, so as to associate science with their public ministry of the Gospel.

One serious objection, in my opinion, applies to all the religious professions of this country, I mean the want of established forms of worship. My zeal for their introduction will not be considered as a zeal without knowledge, when it is remembered that, until the Reformation, the Christian world knew no other, and that even the present exceptions to the

general practice on this subject are on a very limited scale. The public reading of the Holy Scripture and the participation of the people in the public offices of devotion are certainly matters of the highest importance to the edification, faith and piety of all.

The confidence which I have in the Apostolic Succession, renders the lay ordinations of this country less sacred and respectable in my view. To a very considerable extent the aspect of the religious profession as to its intrinsic character is by no means such as I think it ought to be. It is not the profession of the steady exercise of faith, hope and charity, exemplified by a constant succession of good deeds; but that of a certain routine of supernatural feelings in which science, faith and moral virtue have little to do.

Private instruction and, as I fear, private devotions also, have been partially laid aside for the public profession, and the exhibition of enthusiastic raptures, which certainly have for their ultimate object the making of proselytes. Alas, even among the various societies of Presbyterians, the catechist and the catechumen are less and less frequently mentioned. The holy ordinance of Baptism, once so sacred, is duly administered, but little or no importance is attached to it. To a great extent a profession of supernatural feelings, and those too of a particular stamp and configuration, in conformity to the respective models furnished by different societies, constitute the larger amount of the claim of the applicant to Church membership and the ministry. What a misfortune that a test purporting to be of so much importance, and yet so equivocal and delusive, and so favorable to hypocrisy, should have been so extensively adopted by societies in which there is certainly much of real piety.

As a patriot as well as an Episcopalian, I wished for that system of Christian doctrine, those forms of worship, and that form of Ecclesiastical Government, which bear the stamp of the Primitive Ages, and which are, of course, best for this world as well as the next. For the spiritual benefit of many thousands of our Israel, I was anxious for an Ecclesiastical Government in this country at an early period.

All my endeavors to attain these objects were unsuccessful. From year to year I had the mortification to witness the immense plunder of our people to increase the numbers and build the Churches of societies in my view less valuable than their own. How often have the people said to me in the bitterness of their hearts, "Must we live and die without Baptism for our children, and without the Sacrament for ourselves?"

The great States of Kentucky and Tennessee have been settled for the most part by descendants of members of the

Church of England. Not one in a hundred of these people have to this day ever heard the voice of a Clergyman of their own Church, but they have those of all other denominations. Hence the greater part of them are lost to us forever.

The course I have pursued for the attainment of an Episcopacy in this country is partially known to you. The negligence to which I have referred—and alluded to in your letter—shall be frankly but briefly stated. In relation to myself personally, it is unimportant. In proportion as it has borne the aspect of indifference on the part of the Fathers of the Church to the spiritual needs of our people in these immense regions, it has been a fruitful source of mortification and regret to me.

When in 1810, the few Episcopal Clergymen in this country held a meeting and resolved that I should open a correspondence with you for the purpose of obtaining from the General Convention permission to resolve ourselves into a Convention with a view to forming a separate Diocese in the Western Country, I did so, accompanying the request with as full a statement as I could make out at the time, of our congregations and prospects here; and we confidently expected that, as our local situation so evidently demanded the arrangement, it would be made.

We received no information respecting the fate of our petition, until the summer of 1812, when we learned unofficially, that the project had been laid aside in consequence of the death of Bishop Madison.

This issue of the business blasted our hopes. From that time our intercourse with each other became less frequent than it had ever been before; our ecclesiastical affairs fell into a state of languor, and one of our Clergymen, wearied with disappointment, and seeing no prospect of any event favorable to the prosperity of our Church, withdrew from the Ministry.

I kept my station, cheerless as it was, without hope of doing anything beyond keeping my parishioners together, during my lifetime, after which, I supposed, they must attach themselves to such societies as they might think best.

Such was the gloomy prospect before me. How often during hopeless years of discouragement, have I said to myself, Is there not a single clergyman of my Church, of a zealous and faithful spirit, who would accept the office of a Chor-Episcopus for my country, and find his reward in the exalted pleasure of an approving conscience in gathering in the lost sheep of our Israel, and planting Churches in this new world? Is there not one of our Bishops possessed of sufficient zeal and hardihood to induce him to cross the Alleghenies and engage in this great and good work? Year after year answered these questions in the negative.

You may imagine how strange it appeared to me to see the annual statements of the contributions of my Atlantic brethren to Bible Societies and other institutions for propagating the Gospel in foreign lands, while no concern was evinced, or measures adopted for the relief of their own people, in their own country, who were perishing for lack of knowledge.

Meanwhile other denominations here were blessed with the presence of their Episcopal Fathers, while to this day, this country has never been favored with the presence of a Bishop of the Episcopal Church.

We claim, and as I trust, justly, the Apostolic Succession; but where, I ask, is our Apostolic zeal for the salvation of mankind? While the Roman Catholic missionaries for the Societe de Propaganda, as well as those of other societies, are traversing the most inhospitable climes, encountering every difficulty, privation and danger, for the laudable purpose of making converts to the Christian Faith, will the spiritual Fathers of our Church never leave the temples erected by the piety of their forefathers to visit and minister to their destitute people, even in their own country?

When about three years ago I heard some favorable reports concerning the prospects and extension of the Episcopal Church in the Eastern states, I resolved, through Divine assistance, to make one more effort to raise and build up our fallen Zion among us, and with a view of ascertaining the practicability of planting Churches in the westward, in the autumn of 1815, I made a missionary tour of the State of Ohio, going as far southwest as Chillicothe, where I held services and preached twice; I also officiated in all the intermediate towns between Chillicothe and my place of residence, both going and returning. The prospect which this missionary excursion presented was not discouraging; in almost every place I found the skeleton of an Episcopal congregation.

The year following, in accordance with an agreement with the Rev. James Kilbourn, made at my home some weeks previous, I went to Worthington, Ohio, his place of residence, to attend a Convention of Episcopalians appointed in that place, to confer on the interests of the Church. The proceedings of our meeting on that occasion are well known to you. The communication which I made to yourself and Bishop Hobart concerning them met with no response. During the tour I officiated eighteen times.

Last week I made a missionary excursion of six days, in the southern part of Belmont and Munroe Counties, Ohio, during which I held divine service seven times, forming one congregation in the latter county, and baptized thirty children. I was told that had not a mistake occurred in the appointment the baptisms would have exceeded one hundred.

Many of the people had been my parishioners previously to removing to their present locality, and with their neighbors had delayed the baptism of their children twelve years, in the hope of having that holy rite administered by a minister of their own Church. This circumstance affected me painfully.

Your brother in Christ,

JOSEPH DODDRIDGE.

When at length after years of inaction and neglect the effort was made to organize the Protestant Episcopal Church in these parts, the work was far more difficult than it would have been had Dr. Doddridge's plea been listened to. A great opportunity had been lost and did not return. Not only were the "thousands of its members" which Dr. Doddridge assures us then lived in this region, alienated from it, but a change had taken place in the character of the immigration to this Western Country. The early settlers at Pittsburgh and its vicinity were, as has been mentioned, very largely members of the Episcopal Church. But in after years there came that influx of hardy, thrifty Scotch-Irish people, who in a short time became the dominant element throughout Western Pennsylvania. They brought with them not only their energy and thrift, but a sturdy aggressive Presbyterianism which was intolerant towards Episcopal Government and Ritual Worship. In their eyes such things were but little removed from popery itself. They very soon covered the ground left vacant by the Church, and made all subsequent efforts to regain what had been lost far more difficult.

Under such adverse circumstances it is not to be wondered at that we find no organization of the Episcopal Church in Western Pennsylvania until the year 1790; and it is significant that this was made not at Pittsburgh where we would naturally look for it, but among a rural population, such as Dr. Doddridge describes in his letters as everywhere asking for the services of our Church. The first congregation established was in Chartiers Township, about six miles from the city, under the name of St. Luke's Church. The record reads, "The first Episcopal Church west of the mountains was organized, and the Church built by several persons, viz.: General Johnson Neville, his son, Pressley Neville; Major Isaac Craig and others. The lot, ten perches square, was given by William Lea, for a site and graveyard." The church building was begun in 1790, and furnished in the following year, but not entirely finished until

some time afterward. By whom the services were given or who had charge of the flock is not mentioned. But we learn that "Mr. Francis Reno was taken under the care of Mr. Neville and educated and prepared for the ministry of the Church." In due time he was ordained by the Bishop of Pennsylvania, and called to the rectorship of the church at Chartiers. "He officiated there for some years until an insurrection (the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794) disturbed the public peace and drove the supporters of the Church from the locality." Sometime afterward we find that Mr. Reno was engaged to officiate alternately at Chartiers and Pittsburgh, but soon left the neighborhood. The church appears to have been closed, and being built of wood, soon fell into decay, and almost every trace of the building was removed. The record goes on to state that no decided step was taken to rebuild the church until 1851. However this may be, the insurrection could not have completely discouraged the congregation, for we find in Dr. Doddridge's Memoirs a report of "a Convention of four clergymen held at S. Thomas' Church, Washington County, Pennsylvania, September 25, 1803," Mr. Reno being one of them, at which it was resolved that the next Convention be held at the church near General Neville's old place on Chartier's Creek, Penna., to commence the Saturday before Whitsun Day.

In the year 1851, through the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Lyman, then Rector of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, a new church was begun on the site of the old one, and regular services resumed. From that time until 1871 the church was kept open and the congregation held together by various rectors who seem never to have remained for any length of time. Since then only occasional ministrations have been given. The building up of other centers of population at Mansfield (now Carnegie), and Crafton, and the founding of churches there, divided the already diminishing flock until literally nothing remains of what was once a numerous congregation. The church building is occasionally occupied during the summer months, and with its old graveyard around it stands as a monument of the first effort of reviving life in the Episcopal Church in Allegheny County.

What steps were taken to establish the Episcopal Church in *Pittsburgh* prior to 1797 is not known. But as the Rev. Mr. Reno is recorded to have officiated there in connection with Chartiers shortly after 1794, it is likely there was some move-

ment towards that end. In 1797, however, we learn from the records of Trinity Church that the members of the Protestant Episcopal Church residing in Pittsburgh invited the Rev. John Taylor to officiate for them; but it was not until September 4, 1805, that a regular parish organization was formed by obtaining from the Governor of Pennsylvania a charter "making and instituting the Rev. John Taylor the minister of the congregation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Borough of Pittsburgh, Pressley Neville and Samuel Roberts the Wardens of said Church, and Nathaniel Irish, Joseph Barker, Jeremiah Barker, Andrew Richardson, Nathaniel Bedford, Oliver Ormsby, George McGunnigle, George Robinson, Robert Magee, Alexander McLaughlin, William Cecil and Joseph Davis the Vestrymen of said Church, and their successors duly elected and appointed in their place, a Corporation and body politic in Law and in Fact, by the name, style and title of the Minister, Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh."

Such was the decisive step which gave to the Church in Allegheny County a definite standing and centre of growth. From this time for many years, the history of Trinity Church is virtually the history of the Church in Allegheny County, and in Western Pennsylvania. From the mother parish nearly all the new enterprises took their start and looked to it for support. About the same time with the organization, the building of a church was begun. It stood on the triangular lot at the intersection of Sixth Street with Wood and Liberty Streets, now occupied by a business block. Four hundred dollars was paid for the lot. In order to conform to the shape of the lot it was built in an octagonal, or oval form, and was familiarly known as "the old Round Church." The cornerstone was laid July 1, 1805, but the church was never consecrated and no bishop visited Pittsburgh until 1825. To defray the indebtedness of the church, we find that the expedient of a lottery was resorted to. In the *Pittsburgh Gazette* for March of 1808, Anthony Beelen advertised tickets for sale in the Trinity lottery at his shop on Front Street, now First Avenue; highest prize ten thousand dollars; tickets selling for a dollar and a half. This was an approved means of raising money in those days, and was in accord with the prevailing moral sentiment.

"Father Taylor," as he came to be called, held the rectorship until 1817, when he resigned. But few traditions of his ministry survive. He seems to have been a faithful and devout

clergyman, of blameless life, who probably did as much for the church in those days as any ordinary man could. It is said that he was killed some years afterwards by a stroke of lightning near Shenango, Mercer County, Penna. In the short space of six years between Father Taylor's resignation in 1817 and 1823 three clergymen were chosen to the rectorship, served for brief periods and in turn resigned. No statistics of the parish for these years exist. Of the success or growth of the congregation, of its hopes and outlook no records remain. But from the fact that in 1823, when after two years' service the Rev. William Thompson resigned the charge of the church, no attempt was made to elect a successor, it may be inferred that the prospects of the parish were not very encouraging. Nor could it have reasonably been expected that an Episcopal church, situated in a region so remote as Pittsburgh then was, deprived of the care of a bishop and without the privilege of confirmation for the children, by which alone new communicants could regularly be admitted, would make any striking progress in a hostile community. It is rather a matter of surprise that it survived at all. During this period of twenty-five years or more, repeated efforts were made to enlist the sympathy and help of the Church at the East, and to obtain for the whole region west of the Allegheny Mountains, then settled, the erection of a diocese and the consecration of a bishop. Dr. Doddridge, though not then residing in Pennsylvania, never ceased to urge it. In 1810 at a meeting of Episcopal clergymen, held at S. Thomas' Church, Washington County, he was authorized to open correspondence with Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of obtaining through him permission from the General Convention of the Church in the United States to carry out this project; such consent being necessary under the Canons of the Church.

The petition was presented by Bishop White, and at one time there seemed to be hope of its favorable consideration; but the matter was dropped as usual, and the clergy sending the memorial never so much as heard of its fate until nearly two years afterwards through the chance visit of a clergyman from the East. But some symptoms of interest in the state of the Church west of the mountains began to show themselves about the same time. The formation of the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania took place in 1812. This was the first attempt to make an organized effort to plant the Church on new ground. Shortly after the found-

ing of this Society, the Rev. Jackson Kemper, afterwards Missionary Bishop of the Northwestern Territories, visited Pittsburgh and its vicinity, and on his return made an interesting report, which has been lost. In 1814, the Rev. Jehu Clay, then a deacon from Philadelphia, was sent out on a visit of enquiry, and supplied Mr. Taylor's place at Trinity Church for three Sundays while he made a missionary tour to various points where services were desired. It is also on record that the Rev. Mr. Richmond, a missionary in the employment of the Society, supplied Trinity Church with services for a short time. Probably these were the first clergymen from the East who had ever seen Pittsburgh, and it was certainly the first and only time that Trinity Church received ministrations through the agency of the Church in the East. Elsewhere the new Missionary Society had begun its active operations, so successful and efficient in after years in planting churches which have become strong and flourishing.

An event now took place which explains partly the failure to elect a new rector in the place of the Rev. Mr. Thompson, and which is really the first of the two decisive events in the history of the Church in this country. After Mr. Thompson's resignation in 1823, we are told that at the request of the Vestry John H. Hopkins, Esq., then a layman of Trinity Church, was invited to hold services. Years before Mr. Hopkins had removed to Pittsburgh, studied law and very soon became a very prominent member of the bar. It is said that his income at this time was five thousand dollars per annum. He had been brought up in the Protestant Episcopal Church, but through friendships and social influences had, like many other members of the Church, been led to attend the Presbyterian services. His musical abilities led him to take charge of the organ and choir of Trinity Church. Very soon he became a communicant, and finally a candidate for Holy Orders. Shortly after he was invited to read services for the congregation as a layman, he was also elected rector of the parish in advance of the ordination, which took place December 14, 1823. A week later he entered upon his duties as Rector of Trinity Church, and from that time dates a new order of things in the Church in Allegheny County, and, in fact, throughout the whole of Western Pennsylvania. Almost immediately there were signs of reviving hope and courage. The project of building a new church, which had for some time been talked of, was put into execution. Mr. Hopkins made the plans of the new church,

and with his own hands executed a large part of the interior decorations. It was the first example of Gothic architecture not only in Pittsburgh but in the country. The new church, estimated to seat one thousand persons, was completed and consecrated on S. Barnabas' Day, June 11, 1825. (Life of Bishop Hopkins, pp. 72, 73.) It was a great step forward for that day, and meant that the Church intended to stay and to grow. Up to that time no bishop had ever crossed the Allegheny Mountains. In 1824 Bishop White made an attempt to visit the western part of his diocese, but meeting with an accident at Lewistown, he returned to Philadelphia. In 1825 he made a second effort and succeeded in reaching Pittsburgh to consecrate the new edifice of Trinity Church, thirty-eight years after his consecration, and seven years after Dr. Doddridge's letter, which I read to you just now. During his visit he also confirmed nearly one hundred and fifty persons belonging to the congregation, the first time that ordinance had ever been administered in the West. He also visited Connellsville, Wheeling and some other points. Within one year the list of communicants at Pittsburgh was increased from forty to about two hundred, so that it became at once the third parish in numerical strength within the Diocese of Pennsylvania. From that time it took its place in the front rank of influential parishes in the country, and was the recognized representative of the Church west of the mountains, and an important center of expansion. The varied and remarkable gifts of the rector as a preacher, a writer, a theologian, a musician, an architect, a lawyer and an artist gave him a wide influence throughout the Church, as well as in the city of Pittsburgh. Mr. Hopkins did not confine his labors to his own parish. He made a missionary tour as far north as Meadville, and eastward as Greensburg, holding prolonged services in both these places, gathering members into the Church (in the former place about sixty), and laying the foundations of future parishes. No less than seven new parishes were thus established by him in as many years. Not content with such personal efforts, he also tried to supply the need of additional workers in the field. He saw that if a sufficient number of the clergy were to be secured for the then remote West, it must be done by training them up on the ground. When it took a week's time or more to make the journey from Philadelphia or New York to Pittsburgh, it was in vain to look for any considerable number of promising recruits from the East. He therefore began a Theological

Training School for Clergymen in his own house. He had, before entering the ministry, purchased a large tract of ground on the Ohio River, in the very heart of what is now Allegheny City, but was then open country. On this he built a large brick house, which still stands as one of the landmarks of sixty years ago. In this house Mr. Hopkins fitted a chapel and recitation rooms, and received into his family such young men as desired to prepare for Holy Orders.

In 1829 four young men thus trained by him were ordained deacons, and four others were among the candidates for Orders reported by the bishop in his annual address.

Passing over much that was of interest in the rapid growth which followed in and about Pittsburgh, we come to the year 1860, when there again came to the front the question of setting up a separate diocese in the counties lying west of the Allegheny Mountains. The project had never been entirely abandoned; but for a time the increased and rapid means of communication with the East had rendered the need of a bishop on the ground less urgent. It was now easier to reach the most remote missionary station in the northwest corner of the diocese, than it was to get to Lancaster or Harrisburg in the days when Dr. Doddridge and his friends were pleading for a bishop and a diocese for the West. Besides, the consecration of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk in 1828 as assistant to Bishop White gave more adequate Episcopal supervision and quieted for a time the demand for a separate jurisdiction. The election of Bishop Alonzo Potter in 1845, with his splendid physique, commanding powers and untiring labors, still further tended to satisfy Churchmen in the West with their condition, for the time being. But in 1860 came the discovery of petroleum in the northern counties, and with it a great rush of fortune seekers, not only to the oil producing country but to Pittsburgh as the center of trade at that time. The increasing need of Episcopal labor, especially in these parts of the State, and Bishop Potter's failing health, led to the election of Dr. Samuel Bowman as assistant bishop. From the very first he took the liveliest interest in the Church in the western counties, and with all his might pushed forward the plan of a new diocese with its own bishop. His sudden death by the wayside while making a missionary tour in this part of the diocese did but fire the determination of Churchmen in the western part of the State never to give up the agitation until their prayer should be granted. For six years longer the conservatism of

the East and other influences delayed the step. There were fears on the part of what were known as "Low Churchmen," who were in the majority in the eastern counties, as to the ecclesiastical tone of the proposed diocese. Men gravely argued on the floor of the Convention that a territory having a population of near a million, and rapidly increasing, one hundred and fifty miles long and one hundred miles wide, needed no additional oversight, that it could not provide for the decent support of a bishop if their request were granted, and that still less could it take care of its missionary stations and plant new ones called for. Against this obstructiveness the western clergy and laity worked for a long time in vain. It was to no purpose the backwardness of the whole country of which Pittsburgh is the centre—there were but six churches in which regular services were held, north of Pittsburgh, and about as many in the counties south of it, some of these feeble, and most of them stationary—that we were losing enough of our members every year to form respectable congregations for want of care. They argued without effect that the wealth of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County alone, to say nothing of the surrounding country, was ample to provide the necessary means for the salary of the bishop, and the carrying on of missionary operations. And when asked for something more definite, they could only say "Give us what we ask, and we will justify our words." At length the persistency and skillful management of a few determined men won the day, and in the year 1865 consent was reluctantly given to the formation of the new diocese, and what Dr. Doddridge and his fellow-workers had sought in vain more than fifty years before was at last obtained. To this consent, however, was attached the condition that a capital sum of not less than thirty thousand dollars should be secured as an endowment for the new bishopric. The condition was readily complied with, though under protest, as being unlawful and unwise. All preliminary steps required by the General Canons of the Church having been taken, the Primary Convention of the Diocese of Pittsburgh met in Trinity Church, November 15, 1865. It was the second decisive step forward for the Church in the western part of Pennsylvania, as Bishop Hopkins' entrance on the rectorship of Trinity Church had been the first. Many were the prophecies of new life and progress, and high were the hopes indulged by the victorious Western Churchmen. And on the other hand, not a few predicted only failure and embarrassment for the new diocese.

Warm and something more than earnest was the canvass that preceded the meeting of the Convention for the election of a bishop; for party spirit was strong in Pennsylvania in those days, and now that the foundation of a new jurisdiction was settled upon, those who had opposed it turned their efforts towards gaining control of it. The after results of this struggle are felt today, and have been sufficiently serious to modify the actual benefits realized by the division. The candidates nominated for the bishopric were the Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, D.D., then President of Trinity College, Hartford Conn., some of whose devoted students at S. James' College, Maryland, were among the leading spirits in the movement for division of the diocese; and the Rev. Frederic Dan Huntington, D.D., later Bishop of Central New York. Dr. Kerfoot was elected on the first ballot by a large majority, and on the twenty-fifth day of January, 1866, he was consecrated first Bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburgh in Trinity Church. The event created unusual interest throughout the Church, being the first case in which a new diocese had been formed out of an old one since 1838, when Western New York was similarly formed, and also because of the long contest which had preceded the event. All eyes were turned toward the western part of the State, and the results of the experiment were narrowly watched.

Bishop Kerfoot entered upon his duties with the energy and ability which belonged to him. His decided character and deep religiousness made a strong impression from the start.

With all the drawbacks mentioned above, the formation of the new diocese more than justified the hopes of those who had earnestly pressed it. When the Diocese of Pittsburgh was formed in 1865 there had been no increase of parishes since 1859, and the number remained stationary until 1868. But these same parishes had vastly developed in working power, in liberality, as well as in numbers. The communicants had grown to thirteen hundred, and the money raised for all purposes which had amounted to but five or six thousand, now reached forty thousand. After 1868 the effect of constant supervision of the bishop, and his incessant labor, began to have its effect upon the Church in the whole county. At the time of Bishop Kerfoot's death in 1881, there were sixteen parishes and three mission stations in Allegheny County. The communicants had increased to more than two thousand five hundred, and the contributions had reached an annual average of over seventy thousand dollars, rising as high as one hun-

dred and fifty thousand dollars in a single year. While these figures are very far from being as large as they should be, they show a vast improvement over the condition of things which existed so long. The laborious and fruitful Episcopate of Bishop Kerfoot ended at Meyersdale, Somerset County, July 10, 1881. He literally wore himself out in the service of the Church. His labors were incessant and at the same time his highest pleasure. His memory will long be cherished in the diocese, and the monuments of his zeal will tell the story of his unselfish life to other generations.

And the moral of it all is: Let us not make the same mistakes as did some of those of whom we have been speaking. Let us not be dilatory, indifferent, faithless. Let us rather emulate the many things in which we can so clearly see that others of them were right—let us be loyal and true to the Church; never ashamed of her—never apologetic concerning her—but speaking the truth in love and consecrating to her and her interests our time, our money, our labors, our prayers, our very selves.

The old problems are ever at our doors, asking us to solve them. The history of the past tells us that prompt, positive, generous, self-respecting action will always ensure best results. There is room for all to work—no one need feel uninvited—no one need be unemployed.

Let our motto be

“Pro Christo et pro Ecclesia.”

THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Organized May 17, 1910.

Incorporated June 10, 1913.

OFFICERS—1915.

President.—HENRY BUDD, ESQ., Philadelphia.

Vice-President.—MAJOR MOSES VEALE, Philadelphia.

Secretary.—WM. IVES RUTTER, JR., 525 South Forty-first Street, Philadelphia.

Treasurer.—JOHN THOMSON, A.M., Litt.D., N. E. Cor. Thirteenth and Locust Streets, Philadelphia.

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Terms expire 1916.

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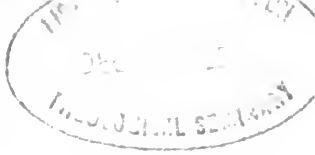
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HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE, LL.D., Santa Fe, N. M.

*Deceased.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Church Historical Society

PART II

1812
OR THE
**Church and State in America One Hundred
Years Ago**

BY THE
REV. ARTHUR LOWNDES, D.D.
Editor of the Archives of the General Convention

**The Founding of the Church in New England
Outside of Connecticut**

BY THE
REV. DANIEL GOODWIN, Ph.D., D.D.
of East Greenwich, R. I.

PHILADELPHIA

1916



January 21, 1911.

The annual meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Lecture Room of the Widener Free Library, Philadelphia, Thursday evening, January 21, 1911, the president in the chair.

The Executive Board presented its report for the first year of the Society, and announced the receipt of contributions from the American Church Union, Dr. A. P. Bowie, Allen Childs, Rev. James Biddle Halsey, the Misses Katharine K. Hare and Lillian H. Hare, J. Edward Haverstick, Rev. Arnold Harris Hord, Rev. Elisha B. Joyce, B. A. Mitchell, Rev. Walter C. Pugh, Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., M. A. B. Smith, of Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Rev. Louis C. Washburn, D.D., and Mrs. W. Beaumont Whitney. The gift of Mr. Childs was the original manuscript of the "Report of the Committee on Intercourse with the Church of Sweden," appointed by the General Convention of 1859; said report signed by John H. Hopkins, chairman; Charles P. McIlvaine, Stephen Elliott, Alonzo Potter, George Burgess, Francis L. Hawks, Hugh Davey Evans, and Henry M. Mason.

An amendment to the Constitution, proposed at the meeting of November 9, 1910, was adopted whereby the membership of the Executive Board was increased from six to nine members, three to be elected each year, the term of service to be three years.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

President—HENRY BUDD, ESQ.

Vice-President—MAJ. MOSES VEALE.

Secretary—WM. IVES RUTTER, JR.

Treasurer—SPENCER P. HAZARD.

Executive Board (to serve until 1914)—

REV. ARNOLD HARRIS HORD,

JOHN E. BAIRD.

Elected to the Executive Board in accordance with the foregoing constitutional amendment:

To serve until 1912—

REV. G. WOOLSEY HODGE.

To serve until 1913—

JAMES M. LAMBERTON, ESQ.

To serve until 1914—

FRANKLIN SPENCER EDMONDS, ESQ.

The Rev. Samuel F. Hotchkin, Registrar of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, delivered an address, the subject of which was, "Brief Sketches of the Lives of Bishops White, Onderdonk, Potter, Bowman, and Stevens."*

April 28, 1911.

The fourth meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Church Club of Philadelphia, Friday evening, April 28, 1911, the president in the chair.

Following the transaction of routine business, an address, entitled "An Appreciation of the Rev. John Mason Neale, D.D.," was delivered by John Thomson, M.A., Librarian of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

October 28, 1911.

The fifth meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Assembly Room of the Church House, Philadelphia, Saturday evening, October 28, 1911, the president in the chair.

After the transaction of routine business, the Right Rev. Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Missouri, and Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, delivered an address on "The Early Missions of the Church in Utah, Idaho and Montana."†

January 10, 1912.

The second annual meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Church Club of Philadelphia, Wednesday evening, January 10, 1912, the president in the chair.

The treasurer presented his report to December 31, 1911, showing a balance on hand of \$89.87, and the annual report of the Executive Board was read, in which it was stated that during the year just ended, gifts had been received from Rev. J. B. Blanchet, D.D., Rev. Hugh L. Burleson, Edwin H. Gorham, J. Edward Haverstick, Rev. W. Northey Jones, Mrs. Hugh M. North, Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., and Mrs. A. E. Wager-Smith.

* NOTE.—This address was later extended so as to include a sketch of Bishop Whitaker, and was published by the Diocese of Pennsylvania as a supplement to its Convention Journal for 1911.

† NOTE.—It is a matter of deep regret to the Executive Board that no stenographer was present, for the Bishop delivered his address without notes.

The annual election resulted as follows:

President—HENRY BUDD, ESQ.

Vice-President—MAJ. MOSES VEALE.

Secretary—WM. IVES RUTTER, JR.

Treasurer—REV. HORACE F. FULLER.

Executive Board (to serve until 1915)—

REV. HENRY RILEY GUMMEY, D.D.,

JOHN THOMSON, M.A.,

REV. ARTHUR LOWNDES, D.D.

Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL.D., L.H.D., of the Diocese of Long Island, delivered an address upon "The Holy Catholic Apostolic Church of England in America: Its Establishment and Right of Precedence."

April 30, 1912.

The seventh regular meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Neighborhood House of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, April 30, 1912, the president in the chair.

By resolution, the Executive Board was instructed to have the Society incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

The Rev. Arthur Lowndes, D.D., of New York, editor of the Archives of the General Convention, delivered the following address, entitled "1812, or the Church and State in America One Hundred Years Ago."

1812,
or
THE CHURCH AND STATE IN AMERICA
ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

BY ARTHUR LOWNDES, DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

A hundred years ago tonight,* the debates in Congress were going on as to whether this country should declare war against Great Britain, or not. As we read the accounts of those debates we are struck by the lack of wisdom and foresight shown by the majority of the speakers. It is true that the Orders of Council promulgated by Great Britain were annoying and irritating to American commerce, but how to meet the situation was not so easy. The American Commissioners at the Court of St. James had realized far more forcibly than the politicians in the United States the great difficulties. I am not going to weary you tonight with any minute account of the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States.

Briefly speaking, this was the situation: Napoleon had crushed every power in Europe save England. He had realized that he could not successfully invade the tight little Island, and that the only way by which he could strike a mortal blow to her was by destroying, if he could, her maritime commerce. After the battle of Jena and the defeat of Prussia, he issued what is known as the Berlin Decree. After recapitulating what he was pleased to call the wickedness of England, he "declared that till she mended her ways the whole coast of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, was in a state of blockade." All trade with the British Islands was forbidden. Englishmen and property belonging to them were to be seized wherever found. All goods, wares, and merchandise, the product of England or her colonies, were made lawful prize, and half the profits of such seizures set apart to indemnify merchants despoiled by English cruisers. No vessel which had so much as touched at an English port was to be suffered to enter any port or colony of France.

The decree was directed against all neutral trade. But the only neutral trade worthy of consideration was that carried on in American bottoms. In London, therefore, men of business read it with the deepest interest. At Lloyd's Coffee-House, where the underwriters gathered; on the Stock Ex-

* Read before the Church Historical Society on Tuesday evening, April 30th, 1912.

change; at the Bank; at the Foreign Office in Downing Street, the questions of the hour were, Will the decree be enforced? If it be enforced, will the Americans submit? Will the Americans resist? And if they resist will they fight, and if they fight will they join us in the war? So serious did the matter seem that Monroe and Pinckney were informed that no treaty could be made till it was known what the United States would do. The treaty which is being made, said in substance, the British Commissioners, binds us to observe the neutral rights of the United States. Nay, more, it yields to the United States much of what we believe to be our unquestionable rights of war. To sign such a letter after reading the Berlin Decree would be to hinder ourselves from counteracting the policy of France. To do this would be unwise, unless the United States will agree to uphold her neutral rights against the decrees of Napoleon. Will your Government do this? Will you consent to draw up a treaty and send it to the United States with this understanding: the treaty to become binding when your Government formally agrees to maintain her rights on the seas against the aggressions of France?

As we look back, we see very clearly that the wise course for the United States would have been to have thrown in her lot with Great Britain against the common foe—Napoleon. I say common foe advisedly—because, while the British Orders in Council did hurt American commerce, still they did so chiefly indirectly, while the French advisedly and of set purpose had been molesting our American commerce, and that without any apparent excuse. In connection with this the following extract from a private letter from a Philadelphian, James Robertson, to his brother, Robert, written fourteen years before, that is, on May 28, 1798, may prove interesting: “It must give you pleasure to hear that Congress are acting with much more decision within this week or two, than formerly. It affords room to expect, a more favourable issue to our present gloomy prospects, than, three weeks ago, there was any reason to hope for. With union in her Councils, and the ample resources of this country, she has nothing to fear.—The Bill authorizing the capture of French Privateers passed, with little opposition, and by a very respectable Majority. This was a little surprizing, as it must be acknowledged, it was a very delicate subject; and the more surprizing as it may be considered as the death blow to that party, who have been so uniform in their opposition, even to measures of defence. The Armed Ship *Ganges*, of 20 Guns has sailed, completely manned, and commanded by an intrepid and experienced officer, Capt. Dale, who, I doubt not, will soon give a good account of himself. The Frigate is nearly

ready, as is also another ship called the Delaware, lately purchased by Govt. She is expected to sail in a few days. In the course of a short time, there will be a respectable force on the coast, and I trust will soon scour it of those Pirates, which have infested it so long.—A resolution passed the House of Representatives yesterday, for bringing in a Bill to suspend all commercial intercourse with France. These measures, besides the real advantage they will be of in the meantime, to the country, by preserving much valuable property, will strike terror into the tyrants of France, by convincing them that their plans for governing this country by *their diplomatic skill*, are blown up, and by the dread of famine in the West Indies, which a suspension of intercourse would hardly fail to occasion. The hectoring letters from their Agents there, of the advantages, and the safety of making shipments to them, will justly be treated, as insidious wiles, to draw the property of Americans into their hands. But the bait will not take. I think of all the insolence that I have yet heard of, has been exceeded by a letter from one of the Agents, lately published, where he calls the dispatches of the American Envoys, a *libel*. It is astonishing to me that any Americans, can read such insulting language with patience; but, patience under injuries is a virtue which the people of this country have too long practiced. It has ceased to be a virtue. I trust, however, the day of retribution will soon overtake, their unprincipled enemies. And, as sure as there is a just God, it will be an awful one.

“I knew the Memorial from the American Commissioners to the Directory, which I lately sent, would please you. It is as clear and satisfactory, and as ably drawn up as any paper of the kind I ever read. But, it was scarcely to be expected, it would have any effect on the Directory. It is not from ignorance they have acted so wickedly towards this country, but from a desire of plunder, and of governing us, and making the people, and the treasures of this country subservient to their ambitious views. For my part, I have no expectation of any accommodation being effected with them, and I therefore sincerely wish, the Com'rs were once out of their country. I am not without apprehensions for their safety. My only hope is, that the vessels which were sent for them, would reach France before the dispatches; for, should the latter be published in France, before the Envoys get away, it is to be apprehended, their situation would be dangerous. I trust however, they will escape in safety. I dare say you read with great pleasure, the many excellent, and spirited Addresses to the President, and his still more bold and energetic Answers. It must afford great satisfaction to every friend to his country, that such a firm, and

able Officer is at the head of affairs. I always had a very exalted opinion of Mr. Adams, but his conduct lately has, if possible, raised him in my estimation. No one can have a more favorable opinion of Genl. Washington, than I have. I always thought him eminently endowed with those talents, which fits a man for public life, either in a civil or military capacity; and I believe that had he continued in office, during the present critical times, he would have fulfilled the duties of it, with credit to himself, and done as much, as man could do for the advantage of the country. After all, I do not think he would have done better than Mr. Adams; nor, do I think he would in his Answers to any addresses, expressed himself with so much freedom, of the conduct of the French, or their partizans in this country. I highly approve of it. The people everywhere have expressed their confidence in him, and it is therefore right that they should know what his opinion is, of their enemies. His Answer to the Addresses of the young men of this city was really excellent; but the very best, I have yet seen, was the Address from Harrisburg in this State, with the Answer. The Answer to the Princeton Students Address, is likewise masterly. I have understood, that some young men from New York, came on lately with theirs, but as it has not yet been published, I can say nothing about it. Though the President must be highly gratified, with such flattering marks of attention from all parts of the United States, yet, it really is imposing a great deal of business on him to write so many Answers. Though they are all the same in substance, it is in some degree necessary to write an Answer to each, both as a mark of respect, and likewise to make them correspond to the style of the Addresses. But to a man of his capacity it must be easy and there is nothing to be regretted but the loss of his time. They are all written with correctness, ease, and a great deal of feeling. They do honour both to his head and heart."

Nothing official was done. It is true that American ships harassed the French on sea, but there was no declaration of war—and as the Directory in 1798 desired to wipe out American commerce, so did Napoleon afterwards. It was the settled purpose of all in authority in France to accomplish this end.

In 1811, Napoleon boldly declared "the decrees of Berlin and Milan are the fundamental laws of my Empire. The fate of American Commerce will soon be decided. I will favour it if the United States conform to these decrees. In a contrary case their ships will be driven from my Empire."

France cared nothing for the United States, and had England been defeated and crushed, it is certain that Napoleon

would have endeavored to annex the United States. The United States was flooded with pamphlets inciting the people to war against Great Britain and exclaiming against the perfidy of even doubting "their old friend and ally." The politicians in Congress spoke much about British gold, but there is a strong suspicion that French gold paid many a writer of these pamphlets. Meanwhile the debates in Congress continued and all sorts of contradictory reasons were given in favour of a war with Great Britain, but when it came to measures for providing the funds there was a curious spectacle of each State trying to tax the other and to free itself.

The orators might want war, but the solid citizens did not want to contribute a cent towards it. The South would not listen to a salt tax, the West would have nothing to do with a land tax, if a whiskey tax were imposed Maryland would benefit, while Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky would have to bear the burden of it, and finally this strange recommendation was made, that "none of these taxes should be laid unless war actually began, that none should continue longer than one year after peace, and that each State might assume and pay so much of the direct tax as fell to its share."

With the question of war or peace being in the balance there suddenly arrived at Boston two men who called themselves John Henry and Edward de Crillon. They were full of their grievances against England.

Crillon went to Washington, and bargained for the sale of the Henry letters to Monroe; the letters purported to be accounts of the angry feelings of the Federalists and of their threats of rebellion and secession and of the negotiations undertaken by them with the Governor General of Canada. The price asked for these letters was \$125,000—the sum paid was \$50,000. Their actual value had been correctly appraised by Lord Liverpool, to whom they had been previously offered, as not worth a shilling for the lot. By a unanimous vote the House sent the letters to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

As we look back, we see plainly that this exposé precipitated the decision. Pressed on every side, Madison finally declared war on June 19, 1812.

John Henry was an Irishman by birth, but a Philadelphian by residence. It is pathetic to remember that this rascal married Sophia, the daughter of Parson Duché, and a sweetheart of John Henry Hobart. Poor little Sophia was evidently dazzled by the plausible Irishman, and refused to accept the offer of marriage from the staid young deacon who was then in charge of Trinity Church, Oxford.

As one of the conditions of the sale, Henry had wisely insisted on the provision that his precious documents should not be given out till he was safely at sea. As for Crillon,

he also announced that he must return to France. Nothing could check his eagerness, and on April first he left Washington, laden with despatches to Barlow and Bassano. But his courtly manners, his charming conversation, his patriotism, his admiration for Napoleon, had not been forgotten by the men who had lionized him at Washington when it began to be whispered that he was an imposter. The whispers were soon confirmed by positive statements, and Madison, the Secretaries, and society learned with deep mortification that no such person as Count Edward was known to the Crillon family; that no such officer was known in the Army of France; that no such estate as that of St. Martial "in Lebeur near the Spanish border" existed; and that the man on whom Crillon drew his drafts in favor of Henry had been dead five years. It remained, however, for posterity to discover that the pretended count was in reality a secret agent of the French police.

So the War of 1812 was begun—precipitated of set purpose by two rascally French spies, and needless since the very cause of complaint, the British Orders in Council, had been decided to be revoked by the British Ministry, and only the sudden assassination of the Prime Minister had delayed the proclamation which, however, was actually issued on June 23, 1812, not knowing that only four days previously war had been declared by the United States. It is a melancholy reflection that if there had then been a cable connection between the two countries, there would have been no war.

The war proved not only disastrous to the American land forces, but nearly brought about the secession of the whole of New England.

The passionate orators who had urged on the declaration of war had all agreed that while the United States could inflict no damage on Great Britain on the seas, yet, on land, uniform victory was predicted, and for this reason the war will be beneficial—Quebec will easily fall, Halifax will be taken, and with the loss of the Canadas British power and intrigue in America will be ended. Let us then have, they cried, a war on land at the public cost, and a war on sea at private cost.

This feeling was voiced by Thomas Jefferson, who, as far back as May 7th, 1786, wrote from Paris, to David Humphreys, on the European outlook, and said that in case of war with Great Britain, "Should such an event become necessary, we have need of only one resolution to place us on sure ground. That is to abandon that element, where they are strong, and we nothing, & to decide the contest on terra firma where we have all to gain & can lose nothing."

Curiously enough, all these predictions were wrong.

Neither Quebec nor Halifax were taken, nor were the Canadas annexed. The American land forces met with a series of defeats and the city of Washington was burned and occupied by the British troops.

It was left to the Navy to redeem the honour of the American flag, and the victories of the ships were as brilliant as they were audacious.

A hundred years ago tonight Wellington was, little by little, driving the French out of Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo had fallen, and three weeks before, on April 6th, Badajos had been stormed and captured. Negotiations were being carried on between Russia and Turkey, which were a month hence to find their culmination in the Peace of Bucharest, whereby the River Pruth was to be the boundary line between the two empires. Napoleon was making his final preparations for his war against Russia, the first act in which was his capture of Wilna two months hence, on June 28, little realizing that in little less than four months he was to begin his retreat from Russia. In England the Perceval Ministry was evidently hastening to its fall, which the assassination of Perceval himself, on May 11th, precipitated.

The exposition of his system of *similia similibus curantur* was being expressed by Hahneman, and the homœopaths, amidst the ridicule of the older practitioners, were beginning to make recruits to their system.

The first steam printing press, invented by König, the German mathematician, was beginning its work.

We complain this year of the backwardness of our spring, but the same complaint was being made a hundred years ago tonight. There had been snow in Philadelphia on April 13th, and the weather was cold and raw on April 30th, presaging another fall of snow on May 4th. In 1812, the steamboat "New Jersey" was plying between Philadelphia and Whitehall, two miles below Bordentown.

A railroad, the second in this country, was running from Thomas Leiper's stone quarries, on Crum Creek, Delaware County, to his landing on Ridley Creek, a distance of about one mile.

This is what Watson says, but as steam for railroads was not introduced till 1828 or 1829, I am inclined to think that this railroad consisted only of rails laid down, perhaps on an inclined plane.

"In the year 1812, Mr. George Shoemaker, then an inn-keeper at Pottsville, and Nicholas Allen, discovered coal on a piece of land they had purchased, now called Centreville. Allen soon became disheartened, and gave up the concern to Shoemaker, who, receiving encouragement from some gen-

tlemen in Philadelphia, got out a quantity of coal, and took nine wagon-loads to Philadelphia. Here again, our coal met with a host of opposition. On two wagonloads Mr. S. got the carriage paid; the others he gave away to persons who would attempt to use it. The result was against the coal; those who tried it, pronounced it stone and not coal, good for nothing, and Shoemaker an imposter! At length, after a multitude of disappointments, and when Shoemaker was about to abandon the coal and return home, Messrs. Melon and Bishop, of Delaware County, made an experiment with some of the coal in their rolling mill, and found it to succeed beyond expectation, and to be a highly valuable and useful fuel. The result of their experiments was published at the time in the Philadelphia papers. Some experiments with the coal were made in the works at the falls of Schuylkill, but without success. Mr. Wernwag, the manager at the Phoenix works, at French Creek, also made trial of the coal, and found it eminently useful. From that time forward, the use of the coal spread rapidly."

One hundred years ago, this very day, Louisiana was admitted into the Union.

A century ago the population of Philadelphia was approaching one hundred thousand; it was the largest in the country—but New York was rapidly gaining upon it. Having been for a time the seat of government, it had acquired somewhat of a metropolitan character, and during the French Revolution and ascendancy of Bonaparte many aristocratic exiles made it their home and contributed to its culture. Some made a livelihood by teaching languages and arts, especially music; others brought scientific knowledge and the principles of the Encyclopædia. A diversified and parti-colored life had replaced the simplicity and monotony of the provincial period; the age of contrasts had begun. Roman Catholicism and deistic infidelity, the social refinements and license of Versailles, were all in evidence. Beside the French emigrants there were many German and Irish Catholics; Michael Egan, a member of the Franciscan order, had just been consecrated their bishop.

In the winter of 1811-1812 theatre-goers were in a wild state of excitement over the arrival of George Frederick Cooke, the English tragedian.

"He was engaged for twelve nights, and made his first appearance, on the 25th of March, as *Richard III.* There were no reserved seats in those days, and it was not an unusual thing to see a servant, or some one hired for the purpose, rush into the house as soon as he could gain admittance, drop into some desirable seat, and occupy it until his master

or employer came to claim it. On the occasion of Cooke's first appearance, which was on a Monday, such precautionary measures were of little avail. As early as Sunday evening—as related by Charles R. Leslie in his 'Autobiography'—the steps of the theatre were covered with men who had come prepared to spend the night there, that they might have the first chance of taking places in the boxes. Some actually took off their hats and put on nightcaps. When the doors were opened at ten o'clock, Monday morning, the street in front of the theatre was impassable. The rush was tremendous. Men literally fought their way through, coats were torn off the backs of their owners, hats knocked off and mashed; one fellow, swinging himself up by means of the iron bracket of a lamp, ran over the heads of the crowd into the theatre. By evening the crowd that besieged the doors was so dense and tumultuous that it was evident ticket-holders, and especially ladies, could not make their way through it without danger."

The theatre was the old Market Street Theatre, and it may interest you to know that Cooke lies buried in St. Paul's Church-yard, New York, where there is a monument erected to his memory by his friend, Edmund Kean.

When we come to take a survey of the Church as it was in this country one hundred years ago, on April 30, 1812, we shall find much to sadden us. Apathy and indifference almost everywhere, and yet we are tonight more fortunate than were the few zealous souls who were living a century ago. We know that this apathy and indifference was soon about to be dissipated and that the Church was not only going to arouse herself, but to become actually aggressive within a very few years and that through that aggressiveness, we who are alive tonight have entered upon the labours and benefited by the warfare waged by the soldiers and captains of our Church.

We had then seven Bishops, White, Provoost, Claggett, Jarvis, Moore, Hobart, and Griswold. The report made to the General Convention of 1811 gave a total number of clergy in the United States as 178, but there must have been at least 220 in all, as Virginia and other Southern dioceses made no report. Among the parochial clergy who afterwards became Bishops were Dehon, Channing Moore, Kemp, Croes, Bowen, Chase, Meade, Stone, Kemper, and Gadsden. Among those who held or who afterwards attained honour and preference are found the names of Beach, Berrian, Eaton, Addison, Andrews, Hubbard, Bowden, Jarvis, Wharton, Abercrombie, Blackwell, Pilmore, Beasley, Smith, Judd, Percy, Bronson, Burhans, Cave Jones, Wilkins, Rudd, Crocker, Gordon, McVickar and Absalom Jones. To these names must be added those of the two men who never attained any honour or pre-

ferment, whose lot was one of poverty, disappointments, difficulties, hardships and neglect, but who were, perhaps, the greatest in the Kingdom of God—Daniel Nash and Davenport Phelps.

Over that territory known as the Eastern Diocese, comprising Massachusetts, which then included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island, Alexander Viets Griswold had been placed just eleven months ago as its first Bishop. Griswold was an excellent scholar, perhaps the most scholarly of the seven Bishops of that day, he had a keen judgment of men and a ready appreciation of what had to be done in the way of the extension of the Church. He was untiring and faithful in his oversight of the huge and unpromising territory committed to his charge. His manners were so mild and unassuming that men failed to recognize beneath that gentle exterior the intellectuality of the mind and the firmness of purpose.

In Connecticut, Abraham Jarvis had succeeded Seabury to the Metropolitan See of all America, and had faithfully and conscientiously carried out the work of his predecessor. Afflicted with asthma, and weak of body, he was, in 1812, living in practical retirement in New Haven. He looked forward with pride to the future career of his son, Samuel Farmer, who had been ordained two years previously, and who was beginning to evidence that zeal for learning which afterwards made him the great scholar of the American Church.

In New York, Trinity Church was paramount. This was owing, partly, to her endowments, but largely to the well-merited influence of the very able men whom the parish had selected. Connected with Trinity parish, there were three Bishops, Provoost, Moore, and Hobart. Provoost was what we should now call a retired Bishop, Moore was the actual Bishop, and Hobart was his assistant. Owing to the contradictory action taken by the House of Bishops in the election of Benjamin Moore, there had been a good deal of controversy in 1811 over the precise rights of Bishop Provoost and Bishop Moore, but into this I need not enter. The parish and the Diocese were fortunate in having men of such marked ability as its early rectors and bishops. Provoost was a man of strong parts, well educated, scholarly in tastes, refined and courtly, and unidentified with the Tory cause during the war, he was able to win to his side the prominent Whig families, and not be a cause of irritation to the common people as the devoted loyalist and gentleman, Charles Inglis, would have been. Provoost's courtly manners at the same time conciliated the few families who were Tories at heart.

All sorts of absurd stories, manufactured out of whole

cloth, have been stupidly told about Samuel Provoost, but the simple fact remains that he conscientiously performed all the duties of his Bishopric as the office of Bishop was then considered in England. He has been taxed as being a latitudinarian by those who have never read his sermons. Fortunately, hundreds of his MSS. sermons have been recovered, and he who reads them will find them models of brevity and terse reasoning, and if they were preached today would be considered by many as being too High Church in tone.

He was a wise administrator, and to him and to Abraham Beach, must be given the praise of having conserved, not only the patrimony of the parish, but also its spiritual inheritance at a time of confusion and disintegration. A hundred years ago he was living in retirement, owing to failing health.

Benjamin Moore was not so virile a man as either his predecessor or his successor. Gentle and quiet, he went on his way unassumingly, but to him must be given the praise of having been the first Bishop in the American Church to realize the necessity of missionary work in new settlements. He not only visited his large Diocese carefully and punctually, but gave directions to Davenport Phelps as to how he should conduct his missionary work in the northern part of the State, which are still models in instruction for missionary work. He took a warm and personal interest in his clergy, as their letters to him prove. In 1812, he had been for some time disabled by paralysis from doing any active work.

John Henry Hobart stands alone, and defies characterization. He was restless, impetuous, ardent, untiring, loving, and yet studious, thoughtful, dignified, and negligent of his friends. His one dominant passion was zeal for the House of the Lord, and in that crucible all other qualities are fused. He was the remodeller of the Episcopate, the type of the modern rector and parish priest, the insistent advocate of the grace of the sacraments, the preacher of righteousness, the proclaimer of the divine character of the American Church, the founder of the Catholic Movement in the Anglican Communion, and the standard bearer of what, in 1812, was considered a forlorn hope, the jurisdiction of the American Church over the whole continent of the United States, and the trumpeter calling upon all her sleeping children to rally to her standard. Trinity Church, and not Oxford, is the cradle of the Oxford movement, and Trinity Church is the alma mater of that type of Christianity which has for its motto, Hobart's words, "Apostolic Order, and Evangelical Truth."

On the staff of Trinity Church, besides these three Bishops, were a hundred years ago tonight, Abraham Beach,

William Berrian, Thomas Yardley How, and William Edward Wyatt.

In New York City, counting Trinity Church and its Chapels, there were twelve churches in 1812.

To account for Hobart's preponderating influence in the whole Church, and not only in New York, I have gone over the whole list of the 178 clergy returned to the General Convention of 1811, and I find that 93 of them were in regular correspondence with him, that is, more than one-half of the clergy sought his advice and counsel. We must remember that the revival one hundred years ago was not due to Hobart only, but to the number of men who looked up to him as a leader and counsellor.

Churchmen in New Jersey, having no Bishop of their own, looked to New York for Episcopal advice and ministrations. The leading men in that State were John Croes and John Churchill Rudd.

About William White, it would be idle for me to say anything in this place.

It is fitting to say here that John Henry Hobart was a native of Philadelphia, baptized and confirmed in this historic church and brought up under the ministrations of Dr. White.

At Christ Church, a hundred years ago tonight, beside Bishop White, there were Dr. Blackwell and Dr. Abercrombie, and Jackson Kemper was to come there the following month. Dr. Pilmore was at St. Paul's, and Absalom Jones, the first colored priest of the American Church, was in charge of St. Thomas's.

Pittsburgh was then the outpost of the Church, and there had labored faithfully John Taylor, who had organized Trinity Church in 1805. It was the only live parish in Pennsylvania, west of the mountains. Joseph Doddridge had in vain pleaded and pleaded that if the Church could do nothing for the western part of Pennsylvania that at any rate a separate Diocese could be erected. Doddridge says that after waiting eighteen months for an answer he was at last told nothing could be done.

"I lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our beloved Church in this part of America. Everything connected with it fell into a state of languor. The vestries were not re-elected, and our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent them when I indulged no hope of a succession in the ministry? . . . I entertained no hope that even my own remains, after death, would be committed to the dust with the funeral services of my own Church."

Chase was consecrated for Ohio in 1819, and it was not till six years afterward, that is, in 1825, that William White paid his first visit to that part of his Diocese.

In Delaware, which was practically under Bishop White, the clergy were: William Pryce, at the Old Swedes, who did an immense amount of good by the republication of standard and useful books on sound Anglican theology; Robert Clay, at Newcastle; James Wiltbank, at Lewes; and Hamilton Bell, at Georgetown.

In Maryland, Bishop Claggett was at the helm. He was the first Bishop consecrated in this country, uniting the Scottish and English lines of succession. Claggett was energetic, but feeble in health, unfortunately. Still he tried hard to raise the tone of Churchmanship both among the clergy and the laity, as evidenced by his pastoral of 1804. He took especial pains to plant the Church in the Southwest, sending Edward Gantt and other men there on missionary tours.

Bend was at St. Paul's, and Kemp and Kewley were on the Eastern Shore, and Jackson at St. Peter's, Talbot County, all men energetic and definite in their teaching of the peculiar claims of the American Church, as was also, in his quiet way, William Murray Stone. It may be of interest to remind you that Bishop Claggett wore a mitre at great functions. In Virginia, Madison had but just died about seven weeks previously and had left the Church in a very feeble condition. James Madison had always considered that his duty lay first to the College of William and Mary. He had right ideas of the duties of the clergy and laity, as is shown by his convention addresses, but unfortunately he never magnified his office of Bishop.

The Church, in Virginia, in April, 1812, was in a deplorable condition, partly through the indolence of the Church people and partly owing to the absorption of the best families in the game of politics, partly owing to the prevalence of a species of infidelity considered as a fashionable importation from France. When the Methodists and Baptists traversed Virginia, it is no wonder that some Virginians, hungry for any religion, flocked to their standards, or that their ardent missionary zeal made sad inroads into the Church. The culminating blow was the confiscation by the State of the Church glebes in 1802. After this, Virginia churchmen seem to have settled down to despair. In 1812, the faint beginnings of a revival were stirring the dry bones. A few of the younger men determined to revive the Church. Among them was William Meade, who, owing to his intimacy with Edward J. Lee and other young men, all friends of John Henry Hobart, and loyal churchmen, deplored the decline of religion, and determined to bring about a better state of things. In this connection may be given a letter written twenty months later, but showing the spirit actuating Meade and his young friends in 1812.

“DECEMBER 31ST, 1813.

“DEAR SIR:

“Your communications concerning Doctor More I have received & am well pleased with; I think his conduct very correct. His proposals raise him in my estimation. I think we may venture to assure him of the office of Bishop. Surprized I am indeed that Doctor Hobart should recommend him “*Timeo Danaos etiam dona ferentes.*” I hope the People of Richmond will accept his terms, if they are wise & if God yet smiles on Episcopacy, they will gladly take him. I believe I shall write to Doctor Brockenburg on the subject. Doctor More should be in Richmond before April. I am truly sorry that you will be absent when I come down. God willing—nothing preventing—I shall be there toward the last of next week. I shall certainly be at your house. With prayers for the welfare of your soul & the happiness of your present life I remain your sincere friend,

“WILLIAM MEADE.

“Superscription—

“Mr. Edmund Lee,
“Alexandria,
“Columbia.”

In North Carolina, the Church was at a low ebb. Notwithstanding the efforts of Charles Pettigrew, who was elected Bishop, Solomon Halling, Parson Meiklejohn and Parson Miller and a few earnest laymen, who, from 1790 to 1795, worked hard to revive the Church, it seemed almost impossible to waken her, although faithful work was done at Wilmington, Edenton and New Bern. The arrival of men like Bethel Judd, Adam Empie, and Gregory Thurston Bedell marked the turn of the tide, and when Richard Channing Moore became Bishop of Virginia he was placed in charge, and did all in his power to hearten those who were working for a revival of the Church.

In South Carolina the situation was equally deplorable. St. Michael's and St. Philip's in Charleston continued their work, and the Church was strong numerically in Charleston, but with no thought of its responsibility outside of the city. The South Carolinians had always been jealous of the powers of a Bishop, and deferred as long as possible to have one. Robert Smith, after a brief Episcopate of six years had died in the autumn of 1801, but it was not until eleven years afterward that Dehon was consecrated the second Bishop of that Diocese. When Dehon did assume charge, it was found that he took his office very seriously; he was a real Bishop, and pressed forward the work of Church extension. In 1812 there was only one man who took to heart the work of fur-

thering the cause of the Church, and that was Andrew Fowler.

The first Confirmation ever held in the Diocese was in the parish of Andrew Fowler in March, 1813. Mr. Fowler found it not only necessary to instruct his candidates, but to issue a tract explanatory of the rite for the benefit of the whole parish. So important and momentous did he consider the event that he wrote a minute account of it, with his address at the presentation of the candidates, to the Bishop.

In Georgia a like condition prevailed. Outside of the parish of Savannah, there was complete apathy, an apathy not broken until the zealous Dehon took charge of the Church on his election to the Bishopric of South Carolina.

Louisiana, which had been ceded by France in 1802, was made a State in 1812.

The Church in New Orleans had been organized June 2, 1805, through the efforts of a few laymen, notably James M. Bradford, James C. Williamson and Edward Livingston. In consequence of a communication sent by these men to John Henry Hobart, on August 10, 1805, asking him to recommend a suitable person for their minister, Philander Chase was sent there. For six years, from November, 1805, to March, 1811, he displayed his restless energy in building up the parish. In 1812, the parish was vacant, but services were maintained by laymen, until James Hull went there in 1814.

In West Virginia and in Ohio towns on the Ohio River, Joseph Doddridge, a physician and priest, ministered faithfully, notwithstanding disappointments and discouragements of all kinds.

One hundred years ago was formed that noble Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. Jackson Kemper was the prime mover in its formation. Its object was to increase the supply of clergy; to provide for the distribution of prayer books; to revive the decaying parishes; to strengthen the feeble ones, and to plant new ones where needed. Jackson Kemper was chosen as the first missionary of the new society, and in the autumn of 1812 set out on that remarkable tour of exploration which marked an era in the Church in Pennsylvania and adjoining States. In his report he states that Doddridge had told him that in his opinion half of the original settlers of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee had been Episcopalians, and that it was then not too late to recover some of them. As you and I know, nothing was done, and the Church lost those States.

Examine the last census returns, and see how weak the Church is in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, how infinitesimal our numbers are in those four States in comparison with the Roman Catholics, the Methodists, the Pres-

byterians, or the Baptists, and as you sigh over the showing, do not blame the men of today—they are doing all they can, poor souls, to recover the lost headway; but blame, and blame severely the men of one hundred years ago and more, for the wilful and woeful neglect of church-people, let alone their apathy in extending the domains of the Church.

In his report, Kemper stated as his conclusions that the apathy of the congregation is principally entirely owing to the pastor who presides over it, and that the custom throughout Pennsylvania, of being anti-rubrical, has been attended with much fatal consequences to our Zion.

In 1812 we had at least 100,000 communicants, and about 220 clergy.

In 1812 as far as I can make out, the Roman Catholics had an Archbishop, four Bishops, and seventy priests, with eighty churches in the United States, and numbering at least 200,000 adherents.

The Methodists, in 1812, reported a total of 156,852 whites, and 38,505 colored adherents, with 688 preachers, and two Bishops or superintendents.

Today they number 5,749,838.

The population of the United States was seven and a quarter millions. Today it is ninety-two millions, or fifteen times greater. Taking this ratio of increase the last census ought to have given us 1,500,000 communicants; to the Methodists, 2,350,000; and to the Romanists, 3,000,000. From this estimated increase we have fallen short by 700,000. The Methodists have 5,750,000, or have doubled the estimated increase, and the Roman Catholics have 12,000,000, or have quadrupled the estimated increase.

In 1812 there was a small body of Christians in an obscure corner of Pennsylvania numbering but a handful. These people, known as the Disciples of Christ, have in the one hundred years of their existence, outstripped the Church. Starting from a few families, they now number 1,142,359 communicants, having a quarter of a million more communicants than we have today.

I think the Methodist figures returned to the census are fairly reliable, as they are painstaking in their reports. The Roman Catholic figures are undoubtedly exaggerated, and they include all adherents, not their communicants only, as we report. Even making every allowance for the immigration of Roman Catholics to this country, and the partial immigration of Methodists, the fact remains that we have not only not made the increase we ought to have done, but have actually fallen off. It is far better to face facts than to ignore them, and a false security is always the most disastrous.

Let me press home to you that the work was being done

one hundred years ago just as I believe it is being done this very night by those who are battling every possible combination arrayed against the Church, being done by the humble men of heart in quiet and obscure places.

Let me read to you two letters, written just one hundred years ago. Here is one from Amos Glover Baldwin to Bishop Moore, giving an account of his pioneer work:

"On the 7th of this month I officiated in Fairfield, Herkimer County, ten miles North East of Herkimer, and seven North of the Little Falls on the Mohawk. It was the first time that divine service according to our mode has been performed perhaps within twenty miles of that place. A respectable congregation assembled; and I was extremely happy to learn that none were disgusted or displeased, but many solemnly impressed at hearing our excellent service performed. It was Saturday at sundown before I arrived in the place, and, therefore, all who are attached to the Church did not receive information of my being there. And indeed no one knew all that are attached to us. Everything exceeded my most sanguine hopes. I found within the circle of a few miles during my stay of two days and a half, fifteen or twenty respectable families, and some of them influential characters. Some of these have attended the Church but very little since the revolution but still love her with all their hearts. You would have smiled, I believe, to see them bring in books in which the name of GEORGE was not the least conspicuous. I hope that I have been the means of rekindling a flame of piety and love to the Church which will never go out in that place. They will meet soon for the purpose of organizing themselves. I intend to give them every attention in my power. If any prayer books or tracts are in the gift of the Church they would do great good there."

And in a letter to Hobart of the same date, he adds these further particulars:

"When I go again, a respectable farmer with his family of nine children intend to be baptized with several others. This must be to me a great solemnity—himself being as old as my father."

Just imagine where the Church would be today had there been a hundred men doing what this man was doing—boldly establishing outposts right in the enemies camp, and extending the borders of the Church of God by audacious attacks. Just imagine what the Church would be one hundred years hence if one hundred men were doing just that kind of work tonight. God bless all those, be they few or be they many, who tonight are boldly seizing new territory and annexing it to the Church we say we love so much.

The other letter is from that holy and humble man of

heart, David Nash—a letter chosen out of many such because just at this minute one hundred years ago, on the evening of Thursday, April 30, 1812, it had reached the hands of John Henry Hobart who was reading it.

“I have as yet collected no Money for the Magazines. They came very irregular—one or else two Numbers are missing in every place—who is in fault for this, I know not—I imagine the Post Masters.—When I come to New York I will pay for them, on Condition any Money is granted me by the Society.—I would send it now had I any, but I am not the possessor of a single Dollar, only as I have borrowed some.—If you have any Prayer Books let me be remembered for good.—A year ago last Autumn I received four from the Bishop—for a number of years previous to that I had not received any.—The Bibles and Testaments did much good.—I am sensible I have no demand—but on condition you have any to give away I shall esteem it a great favour not to be forgotten.—I have yet to struggle with many difficulties,—but they are light in comparison to your’s—I hope you may be enabled to possess your soul in patience.—We ought to do good to all—even our expressions of disapprobation should be tempered with mildness.”

Imagine if you can this faithful soldier of Christ in his lonely outpost, and rejoicing that he received four prayer books for distribution, in the course of fifteen months! And who, without a dollar in the world, is willing that the cost of the Churchman’s Magazine shall be deducted from the next payment of his meagre stipend.

When I picture to myself this brave and courageous soldier, my heart goes out to him in all loving tenderness, and also with self-reproach. He has joined the company of those spirits of just men made perfect, and God has blessed this whole Church of ours for his life of self-sacrifice and devotion, and strangers as you all are to me, I am confident that could I trace your spiritual genealogy, there are some here present tonight who owe their spiritual descent to some souls won and saved by Daniel Nash. God bless every man whoever he is who is tonight trying to serve his Master in the same spirit. God bless him, and give him courage to pursue, though the Church leave him unsupported, on the perilous outpost. God bless him.

I have finished my survey. I have tried to sketch for you just how Church and State stood in this country, one hundred years ago tonight. My lines may be too sharp in some places, and blurred, perhaps, in others—yet it is an attempt to set before you honestly and fairly the situation on April 30, 1812, as I understand it. The lesson to us tonight is twofold.

Dark as was the outlook for the State a century ago, yet, notwithstanding the politicians, the country has gone forward with a majestic trend. The stars in the flag which then numbered eighteen, now number forty-eight, but never in the whole history of the United States have the Stars and Stripes flown more proudly on this land, and on all seas of the ocean, than does that brave flag tonight. It speaks of battles won and of victories achieved over the powers of baseness, and of success in almost every realm of human thought and enterprise.

Dark as was the outlook for the Church one hundred years ago tonight, yet, notwithstanding faint hearts and weak knees, notwithstanding loud-mouthed speakers and those who whispered secretly against her, the Church has risen to a nobler conception of her duty to all within this land of ours than she ever had before. Never in her history have her devoted priests and laity been more oppressed with the responsibility of their inheritance than tonight. Never have there been in her history a more pathetic yearning to win the approval of her dear Lord and Master by obeying his twofold command of worship to God and love to man.

The problems that confront Church and State tonight are far mightier than those which confronted them both a century ago. The nation has solved the problem of union which lay smouldering a hundred years ago. The Church has that problem yet to solve. But in all the problems that lie before us, both, let us both remember that victories can only be won in spite of the politicians in Church and State. That those who were faint hearted and despaired of the future were not those who fought and sacrificed themselves or their lives, not those who gave to further the welfare of Nation or Church, but those who in selfish ease and indolent apathy foretold the ruin of both.

So tonight the issues of land and church are, believe me, humanly speaking, in the hands of those who are positive, determined and aggressive, and of those who dare to act as well as think, who dare to believe that the Stars and Stripes shall never be hauled down, no matter how dark the hour may be.

In the hands of those who dare to believe that this Church of ours is intended by their Master to be the abiding resting place of all Americans, who dare to believe that though we have been doubtful, disbelieving, and unfaithful in the past that God will give us and our children the courage and the wisdom to make this in name and in deed, the American Church.

Faint heart never won anything to be desired. Faint heart never won a battle or added a star to our flag. Faint

heart never pushed forward boldly into the enemy's land. Faint heart never planted the banner of the cross nor fought and bled to keep it where planted. The Church must take her lesson from the State and learn to be imperialistic. Never apologize for the Church. No man worth his salt ever apologizes for his country. And God grant that whoever shall speak in my place a hundred years hence in this venerable parish may be able to record the fruits of a holy alliance between Church and State, of work braved and accomplished, of moral, social, and economic problems solved by both, hand in hand. They never can be solved by either one independently. Of capital and labour, recognizing that they are but members of one body, that legislation must not be for the benefit of politicians, but for the benefit of the weak and tender in the nation, the woman, and the child. That Ephraim in the State must not envy Judah in the Church, nor shall Judah vex Ephraim.

And as red, white and blue have ever been the sacred colors of the Church of God, so shall red, white and blue ever wave over a united Church in a united land.

So remembering that the Lord ruleth over all, be the people never so impatient, let us enter the coming century with a holy boldness and a loyal ardour to fight for land and church no matter what comes, and with cheers for the red, white and blue, say,

God save the Church!
God save the State!

November 8, 1912.

The eighth regular meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Neighborhood House of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Friday evening, November 8, 1912, the president in the chair.

After the routine business had been transacted, Professor Amandus Johnson, Ph.D., of the University of Pennsylvania, delivered an address upon "The Swedish Lutherans in Pennsylvania and Their Relations to the Episcopal Church."*

After the conclusion of Professor Johnson's address the Rev. Snyder B. Simes, rector of Gloria Dei Church, Wicaco, by request of the Society, addressed it upon the history of Old Swedes Church and its connection with the Church in the early days of the province.

January 31, 1913.

The ninth regular and third annual meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Neighborhood House of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Friday evening, January 31, 1913, the president in the chair.

The annual report of the Executive Board was submitted. Contributions to the Society's collections were received during the year from the following: Griffin C. Callahan, J. Edward Haverstick, Rev. Edward M. Jefferys, D.D., Rev. Arthur Lowndes, D.D., Rev. John P. Peters, D.D., Rev. Walter C. Pugh, Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., Rev. William Smythe, Estate of Rev. Thomas C. Yarnall, D.D., and four volumes of the Publications of the Archives Commission of the General Convention.

It was *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the Society that the Charter to be applied for incorporating the Society, should provide for the election of a Board of Managers to be composed of such number as may be fixed from time to time by the By-Laws of the Corporation, it being understood that the plans may provide for the exercise of the powers of such Board, in the recess between its meetings, by a standing committee.

*As Dr. Johnson has incorporated this address in one of his historical publications concerning the Swedish settlers in America the Society is not privileged to publish it here.

The annual election of officers resulted as follows:

President—HENRY BUDD, ESQ.

Vice-President—MAJ. MOSES VEALE.

Secretary—WM. IVES RUTTER, JR.

Treasurer—JOHN THOMSON.

Executive Board (to serve until 1916)—

ALLEN CHILDS,

ALBERT S. HAESELER,

JAMES M. LAMBERTON, ESQ.

Rev. Louis C. Washburn, D.D., rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, gave a very interesting talk upon "Local Origins—Illustrated," the illustrations being the many valuable historical relics belonging to Christ Church.

April 22, 1913.

The tenth meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Neighborhood House of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, April 22, 1913, the president in the chair.

Following the transaction of routine business, the Rev. Joseph Hooper, rector of the Church of the Epiphany, Durham, Conn., and member of the Archives Commission of the Diocese of Connecticut, delivered an address upon "The Office of Presiding Bishop in the American Church, with Notices of Its Incumbents."*

November 13, 1913.

The eleventh meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Church Club of Philadelphia, Thursday evening, November 13, 1913, the president in the chair.

The Rev. C. Braxton Bryan, D.D., rector of Grace Church, Petersburg, Va., and principal of the Bishop Payne Divinity School, delivered an address upon "The Beginnings of the Church in Virginia."†

The president stated that in accordance with the resolution adopted at the meeting held April 30, 1913, application for a charter had been made and the same granted, bearing date of June 10, 1913, of which the following is a copy:

*NOTE.—It was hoped to include this address in the present pamphlet, but owing to serious illness Mr. Hooper has been unable to prepare it for publication in time for this issue.

† NOTE.—It is expected to include this address in the next issue of the Proceedings of the Society.

CHARTER OF THE "CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

To the Honorable the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas No. 3, for the County of Philadelphia, of March Term, 1913, No. 3824:

In compliance with the requirements of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, entitled "An Act to provide for the incorporation and regulation of certain corporations," approved April 29th, A. D. 1874, and the supplements thereto, the undersigned, all of whom are citizens of Pennsylvania, having associated themselves in the formation of a society for the purposes hereafter set forth, and desiring to be incorporated according to law, do hereby certify:

1. The name of the proposed corporation is the "Church Historical Society."

2. The purpose of the corporation is the preservation and publication of historical documents connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, the investigation of its history and the development of interest in all relevant historical research.

3. The business of the corporation is to be transacted in the city of Philadelphia.

4. The corporation shall have perpetual existence.

5. The said corporation is to have no capital stock, the names and residences of the subscribers appear by their signatures hereto.

6. The said corporation shall be maintained solely by dues, assessments and contributions collected therein.

7. The directors of the corporation shall consist of a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and nine managers. The number of managers may, however, be increased from time to time as may be ordained by a by-law of the corporation duly enacted, and when so increased may be, in like manner, diminished; *provided*, that the number of managers shall never be reduced below nine. The president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, and one-third of the managers shall be elected by the members of the Society at a meeting to be held in January of each year, the president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer so elected, to hold office for one year, and the managers so elected to hold for the term of three years; but a failure to elect officers at the meeting as above provided shall not work a forfeiture of the charter or cause the corporation to be dissolved, but offi-

cers and directors may be elected at a meeting of the Society subsequently held, notice being given that an election will be had.

The officers chosen for the first year of the corporation are: president, Henry Budd, Philadelphia; vice-president, Moses Veale, Philadelphia; secretary, William Ives Rutter, Jr., Philadelphia; treasurer, John Thomson, Philadelphia.

Managers:

To serve until January, 1914, Arnold Harris Hord, Philadelphia; John E. Baird, Philadelphia; George Woolsey Hodge, Philadelphia.

To serve until January, 1915, Henry Riley Gummey, Sewanee, Tenn.; Arthur Lowndes, New York City; Horace F. Fuller, Philadelphia.

To serve until January, 1916, Allen Childs, Philadelphia; Albert S. Haeseler, Philadelphia; James M. Lamberton, Harrisburg.

Witness our hands and seals this twenty-second day of April, A. D. one thousand nine hundred and thirteen (1913).

JOHN CADWALADER, 1519 Locust Street, Philadelphia.

ROWLAND EVANS, Lower Merion, Pa.

M. VEALE, 509 South Forty-second Street.

JOHN THOMSON, 2101 North Camac Street, Philadelphia.

ALLEN CHILDS, 4506 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

HENRY BUDD, 233 South Thirty-ninth Street, Phila.

ALBERT S. HAESELER, 3735 Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

WM. IVES RUTTER, JR., 525 South Forty-first Street, Philadelphia.

ARNOLD HARRIS HORD, 244 High Street, Germantown, Philadelphia.

HENRY MARTYN MEDARY, 2120 North Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia.

G. WOOLSEY HODGE, 334 South Thirteenth Street, Philadelphia.

FRANCIS A. LEWIS, 2207 St. James' Place.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, 2219 Spruce Street.

JOHN E. BAIRD, 307 Real Estate Building.

G. W. PEPPER, 1730 Pine Street.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, } ss.:
 COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, }

Before me, the subscriber, Recorder of Deeds in and for said county, personally appeared M. Veale, William Ives Rutter, Jr., Henry Budd, being three of the subscribers to the

above and foregoing certificate, and being all of them citizens of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and in due form acknowledged the same to be their act and deed.

Witness my hand and official seal this twenty-second day of April, Anno Domini 1913.

(Seal)

JOS. K. FLETCHER,
Deputy Recorder of Deeds.

DECREE.

IN THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS NO. 3, FOR THE COUNTY OF
PHILADELPHIA.

March Term, 1913. No. 3824.

And now, to wit, June 10th, A. D. 1913, the above certificate of incorporation having been presented to me, a law judge of said county, accompanied by due proof of publication of the notice of this application as required by the Act of Assembly in such case made and provided, I certify that I have perused and examined said instrument and found the same to be in proper form and within the purposes named in the first class as specified in Section 2 of the Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, approved on the twenty-ninth day of April, 1874, entitled "An Act to provide for the incorporation and regulation of certain corporations," and the supplements thereto, and the same appearing to be lawful and not injurious to the community, it is hereby, on motion of William R. McAdam, Jr., Esq., counsel for the applicants above named, ordered and decreed that the above charter be and is hereby approved, and that upon the recording of the said charter and of this order the subscribers to said charter and their associates shall be a corporation by the name of the "Church Historical Society," for the purposes and upon the terms therein stated.

(Seal)

HOWARD A. DAVIS,
Judge.

Recorded in the Office for the Recorder of Deeds, etc., in and for the City and County of Philadelphia, in Charter Book, No. 50, Page 11, etc.

Witness my hand and seal of office this eleventh day of June, Anno Domini, 1913.

(Seal)

ERNEST L. TUSTIN,
Recorder of Deeds.

The original constitution now being superseded by the charter, it became necessary to adopt new by-laws. They are as follows:

THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

The annual dues of active members shall be one dollar. Members whose dues remain unpaid for more than two years may be dropped by vote of the board. On payment of ten dollars, any person otherwise eligible to membership may become a life member.

ARTICLE II.

The officers of this Society shall consist of a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer, and fifteen Managers, who shall constitute the Executive Board. The officers and one-third of the Managers shall be nominated at the stated meeting in each year in October, and shall be elected at the stated meeting in the following January. All vacancies may be filled by the Executive Board until the next January meeting of the Society, when an election for the unexpired term shall take place.

The terms of officers shall be one year and that of the Managers three years, provided that at the election in January, 1914, in addition to the Managers chosen to fill the places of those whose term then expire, six Managers shall be chosen whose respective terms shall be determined by lot, in such wise that the terms of one-third of the whole number of the Managers shall expire in January, 1915, one-third in January, 1916, and one-third in January, 1917.

ARTICLE III.

The duties of the several officers shall be such as are usually incidental to their offices.

ARTICLE IV.

The Treasurer, when required, shall give bonds in such sum as the Board may demand.

ARTICLE V.

There may be a Librarian, who shall be elected by and perform such services as the Board shall direct, be paid such compensation as it may consider just, and be subject to discharge by it.

ARTICLE VI.

This Society shall meet in the months of October, January and April, at such time and place as the Executive Board shall direct. The Executive Board (hereinafter called the Board), shall meet on the call of the President or of any three members thereof. Seven of its members shall constitute a quorum. This number shall not be decreased without the direction of the Society.

ARTICLE VII.

A separate fund shall be created, which shall be called the Endowment Fund, and all contributions for the purpose of procuring a building, with fireproof facilities, for the Society, together with such other contributions as may be set apart or received for that purpose shall be invested, at convenient times, in good securities.

ARTICLE VIII.

Such Endowment Fund shall be managed by three Trustees, who shall be elected annually in the same manner and at the same time as the officers of the Society.

ARTICLE IX.

One of the objects of the Society shall be to collect for the Library and the Cabinet the particulars hereinafter mentioned, namely:

For the Library.

- a. Narratives relating to dignitaries and benefactors of the Protestant Episcopal Church and Missions.
- b. Biographical notices of eminent and remarkable persons.
- c. Sketches and catalogues of schools, academies and colleges.
- d. Copies of records of proceedings of religious, literary, scientific or social bodies.
- e. Journals and newspapers.
- f. Manuscripts on any subject or of any date.
- g. Magazines and pamphlets.
- h. Church almanacs, directories, diaries, etc.

For the Cabinet.

- a. Prints, especially of persons, church buildings, etc.
- b. Pictures.
- c. Medals.
- d. Utensils.
- e. Any article of value from its historical or biographical affinities.

ARTICLE X.

These By-Laws shall be subject to amendment by a majority vote of the Society at any stated meeting, notice having been given of intention to move the same at the previous meeting.

January 27, 1914.

The twelfth regular and fourth annual meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Neighborhood House of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, January 27, 1914, the president in the chair.

The executive Board presented its annual report showing gifts received from the following: Rev. C. Braxton Bryan, D.D., J. Edward Haverstick, Rev. Joseph Hooper, Rev. John S. Littell, D.D., Rev. Alexander Mann, D.D., Rev. Leighton Parks, D.D., Wm. Ives Rutter, Jr., Rt. Rev. Beverly D. Tucker, D.D., Edward H. Virgin, Rev. Louis C. Washburn, D.D., and the Diocese of Pennsylvania. The contribution from the last named consisted of books, pamphlets and Church periodicals, over five thousand in number.

The annual election resulted as follows:

President—HENRY BUDD, ESQ.

Vice-President—MAJ. MOSES VEALE.

Secretary—WM. IVES RUTTER, JR.

Treasurer—JOHN THOMSON, LITT.D.

Executive Board (to serve until 1917)—

REV. ARNOLD HARRIS HORD,

JOHN E. BAIRD,

REV. G. WOOLSEY HODGE.

Additional members of the executive board in accordance with the terms of the charter:

To serve until 1915—

HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE, LL.D.,

REV. WILLIAM F. PEIRCE, D.D., L.H.D.

To serve until 1916—

REV. JOHN STOCKTON LITTELL, D.D.,

REV. C. BRAXTON BRYAN, D.D.

To serve until 1917—

REV. GEORGE C. HALL, D.D.,

EDWARD HARMON VIRGIN.

The Rev. Daniel Goodwin, Ph.D., D.D., of East Greenwich, R. I., delivered the following address upon "The Founding of the Church in New England":

THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND, OUTSIDE CONNECTICUT.

Mr. President Budd, other Officers and Members of the Church Historical Society:

You have kindly asked me to tell you the story of the founding of the Church in New England, so far as I am familiar with it.

When Jackson Kemper was sent out, nearly four score years ago, to be the first missionary Bishop in the North-west, he exclaimed: "A bishop spread out over a hundred thousand square miles of territory will make a very thin bishop indeed."

But is it not still more obvious that a speaker of one hour, spread out over the history of the founding of the Church, in a province as extensive as New England, will, apart from all other deficiencies, make a very thin speaker indeed? It will be only too easy to see through him.

This, however, is the subject assigned, and the present speaker, having fallen into the habit of Colonel Newcomb, of answering—all too readily—"Adsum," when his name is called, has no recourse but to do the best in his power, with the topic, in the time allotted.

At least, he may claim the advantage of being able, by reason of a long lifetime spent within the territory and of the performance of clerical work in almost every part of it, except Connecticut, to give an inside view of the subject.

As an introduction, will you kindly give attention to a quiet scene of more than three centuries ago?

Two little ships are described lying at anchor in the lee of a fir-clad island. Upon a slight eminence, near the shore, stands a cross, formed from the unhewn trunk of a tree. Presently you behold a number of light shallops, propelled by rowers, plying between the vessels and the beach, on which they land a hundred or more of the voyagers, who proceed to ascend the hillock, with a white-robed priest at their head. When all, at length, stand grouped around the cross, you catch the voice of the clergyman rising in prayer, the people, at intervals, devoutly responding. Then the Word of God is read, a plain sermon is preached, and, after the singing of a hymn, the worshippers, in reverent guise, return to their ships again.

It is a pious act of simple Christian emigrants, long tossed on the sea, but now rejoicing to be able to offer homage to Jehovah, once more, upon the solid land.

That is all. But is it all?

Is not the incident rather a kind of solemn, timely pageant, rehearsing the events which shall be, long hence in the far future, occurring upon these now solitary shores, somewhat as the Greek chorus used, in ancient days, to file out in grave procession in front of the stage, to foreshow the incidents and significance of the drama about to be enacted?

The scene just now depicted is laid upon the coast of Maine, off the mouth of the Kennebec River.

The tiny island observed has been dutifully named by the voyagers, English as they are, after the tutelary saint of their homeland, "St. George—His Island." The two vessels are the fly-boat, "The Gift of God," commanded by George Popham, and the good ship, "Mary and John," of London, Raleigh Gilbert, captain. The emigrants are would-be "planters," to the number of a hundred and twenty, seeking a dwelling place in the New World.

The minister is the Reverend Richard Seymour, a priest of the Church, the leaders of the expedition being likewise loyal Churchmen.

The service said at the foot of the rude cross is the earliest known use of the Book of Common Prayer upon the New England coast, stretching six or seven hundred miles from the eastern boundary of New York, on Long Island Sound, to the Saint Croix River, on the western confines of New Brunswick.

The time is a Sunday in August, in the year of Grace 1607, scarcely above a century after the border of North America had been skirted by the first adventurous navigators of those seas, John Cabot, and Sebastian, his son, and more than a dozen years before the Plymouth Pilgrims will raise "their hymns of lofty cheer" on the wintry Sunday, at Clark's Island, on the Massachusetts coast.

In view of all that this transaction at "St. George—His Island" presaged of the future planting of the Church of Old England throughout the new district bearing its title, how do we seem to hear, above the voices of the earthly participants in the service, the morning stars singing together and all God's sons raising a shout of joy!

Yet soon the high hopes of these settlers were dashed and the brave enterprise came to an end, the auspicious opening proving but a harbinger of what only the distant future day was finally to bring forth. After a single winter, during which a few dozen simple cabins and a rough chapel had been raised, the faint-hearted colonists sought again the Old World, and the work of planting the Church on that western shore, was for many years abandoned. Indeed were one to be asked to give a history of the Church of England in the

New England Colonies, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, he could substantially embrace it in the single sentence, "There was no Church of England in the New England Colonies at that period."

A minority, it is true, of the scattered colonists preferred the English Church.

Churchmen, singly or in small groups, were to be discovered here and there. But it is not until the close of the century that we behold the Church beginning to assume any approach to an organic form.

It is convenient to begin our survey of the founding of the Church in New England with the District of Maine, both on account of its geographic position and as the scene, as we have just been reviewing, of the first prayer book service in the Province.

MAINE.

As early as 1636, probably through the influence of Sir Ferdinando Gorgas, "the father of colonization in America," the Rev. Richard Gibson, a good man, learned and gratefully accepted among those who loved the Church of England, crossed the sea to do the duties of an itinerant along the coast of Maine and New Hampshire.

A few years later, the Rev. Robert Jordan, also, was sent out by Robert Trelawney, to his plantation in Maine, to minister to the various little settlements of the region.

Perhaps it was due to the results of the modest labors of these two missionaries that a certain Thomas Jenner, a Congregational minister, made the rather odd report to Governor Winthrop, in 1641, that "The people of Saco, Maine, were much addicted to Episcopacy." Episcopacy, in the view of this divine, must have been similar to an intoxicating drink or a highly deleterious drug—the baleful hemp of India perhaps—calculated to paralyze the spiritual faculties of the user. At that period, most of the leading men in York, Falmouth, now Portland, where Mr. Jordan dwelt for thirty-six years, Saco, the home of those "addicted to Episcopacy," Scarborough and Kittary, were favorable to the Church, although compelled to support Congregationalism. Mr. Bancroft records (*Hist. U. S.*, I, 432) that, "Maine . . . was not admitted to the Union of the Colonies, formed in 1643, because the people ran a different course from the Puritans, in both their ministry and their civil administrations." But, as has been intimated, the labors of the clergymen and the inclinations of the laymen did not avail, in the seventeenth century, to establish the Church of England in Maine.

The actual founders of the Church there were two men of a much later day, the Rev. Jacob Bailey and Dr. Sylvester

Gardiner. It was not until 1760, in response to a petition of the people of Frankfort and Georgetown, that Mr. Bailey arrived among them, as a missionary of the S. P. G., at London, one sent slightly earlier not having proved effective. Mr. Bailey was a New Englander by birth, and a graduate of Harvard College, being a classmate of John Adams.

A biography of him has been written, under the picturesque title, "The Frontier Missionary." It recounts very vividly the alternating lights and shades which then made up the life of a pioneer of the cross in the wilderness.

What may be styled the "romance of missions" was illustrated more strikingly in the vast northeastern district of New England than in any other part of the province, and in the career of Jacob Bailey than in that of almost any other missionary.

For ten or twelve years he lived, with his family, in an old fort, the chapel of the post constituting all the church he had there. When, after that period, he had built a church at Pownalboro, and removed into a new parsonage house nearby, only one room in it was completed, and he was forced to board the carpenters while they finished off another.*

Mr. Bailey found in the county of Lincoln, which was practically his parish, fifteen hundred families scattered over a territory a hundred miles in length and sixty miles in breadth. Traveling was attended with great difficulty, the whole country being full of rapid rivers and almost impenetrable forests. In the winter, with the extreme cold and the snows sometimes five or six feet in depth, moving from place to place was still more impracticable.

In the early spring of the first year, the missionary reported to the society that, notwithstanding these discouragements, he had travelled six or seven hundred miles, backward and forward to preach among the people and baptize their children, enumerating five principal stations where he frequently ministered.

With a sort of winning simplicity he begged the society to send him, in addition to prayer books and catechisms, some "small pious tracts" for use among the poor, or, as was expressed in another place, "Bibles, Common Prayer Books and other pious tracts."

So sanguine was Mr. Bailey of the success of his grand

*Mr. Bailey was always poor, except in that best kind of wealth, plenty of children, six of whom survived him. One of them, Charles Percy Bailey, contributed to the rather romantic distinction of the family, by being taken under the patronage of the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, being given a commission in his own regiment and at last falling, with honor, at the Battle of Chippewa.

undertaking at Pownalboro, that he proudly declared it likely to become one of the largest churches in New England.

At this later date, the town has disappeared from the map, and the church, which seems to be nearest to the locality, reports twenty-four communicants. Portland, then Falmouth, on the other hand, which did not seem on the occasion of his infrequent ministrations, to have particularly impressed him, is now the principal standpoint of the Church in Maine, with its four strong parishes and eighteen hundred communicants. So unstable are the steps of the uninspired prophet.

The last years of Mr. Bailey's services in Maine were embittered by the political disturbances of the period. He considered himself bound by the most sacred obligations to adhere to the royal cause.

Forbidden to pray for the King and yet persisting in doing so, his congregation fell off and he was repeatedly summoned to appear before the Committee of Safety.

To avoid the fury of the patriot men-at-arms, he was, at one time, obliged to flee from his home at night.

While we do not, with our present light, approve his course, we cannot but sympathize with him in his sufferings.

After nineteen years of faithful service as a priest in the valley of the Kennebec, Mr. Bailey felt compelled to leave its well-loved scenes and to withdraw to Nova Scotia. But the fruit of his work remains and redounds to his praise as one of the typical founders of the Church in Maine.*

The lay pioneer referred to a moment since, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, was the founder of the city bearing his name and the great-great-grandfather of our present highly respected leading layman, the Hon. Robert Hallowell Gardiner, of Gardiner.

Dr. Gardiner was born and bred in Narragansett, Rhode Island, early becoming imbued with strong Church principles under the tutelage of that stiff old Churchman, the Rev. Dr. MacSparran.

By a successful professional and mercantile career in Boston, he amassed what was for the time, a large fortune, becoming one of the most liberal and efficient of the King's Chapel congregation. Some years previous to the Revolutionary War, Dr. Gardiner acquired the possession or the management of large tracts lying on the Kennebec River and extending to the westward, "not further than the coast of the

*Mr. Bailey is declared, by an enthusiastic chronicler with a little pardonable exaggeration, to have endured more hardness and done more real work, among a widely scattered people, than any ten priests, who have yet been in Maine. So much does it cost to plant the Church in a new field.

Pacific Ocean." No sooner had he come into control of the territory than he began to devise liberal things for the Church. To Pownalboro he gave the use, for seven years, of Richmond House and farm, for Mr. Bailey's improvement. For building the church and parsonage there he subscribed fifty pounds sterling, and, what was even harder, volunteered to solicit subscriptions from others. Rather curiously, but with enlightened liberality, he published, at his own sole expense, an edition of Bishop Beveridge's Sermon on the Excellency of the Book of Common Prayer, distributing the copies to a good purpose. To Gardiner's Town, now Gardiner, he also gave a Glebe, built a church and parsonage, and started an endowment, with an annual gift of twenty pounds sterling for the perpetual support of an Episcopal minister at that point.

It was a day of small things, in general, the poor people paying a weekly pew tax of two pence, the middle class one of three pence, while the rich families were taxed four pence a Sunday. It was most fortunate, however, for the Church on the Kennebec to enjoy at such a time the leadership of a layman so generous, so earnest, so permeated with the spirit of the Gospel, and so widely known and honored in the social world of the day, as was Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, and right nobly have five generations of his descendants maintained the family traditions as Churchmen.

It was not until 1820, on the occasion of the admission of the District of Maine to be a sovereign state, that the few Episcopal churches within it formed themselves into a diocese.

In 1847, that remarkable man of God, George Burgess, was consecrated first Bishop of Maine, and labored for nearly a score of years, in season and out of season, with unrivalled energy, ability and devotion, to build up the diocese, but with only moderate visible success. In truth, the people of Maine, without bitter, puritanical antagonism to the Church, simply do not, as a class, want to be Churchmen, and do want to be Congregationalists, and there, at present, is the end of the matter.

During Bishop Burgess's period of greatest activity, a dear old Congregational minister, of Augusta, too frank by half, approached him with a rainbow scheme of practical federation of churches, to be illustrated primarily by the establishment of what is called a Union Church, somewhere on the Kennebec.

The Methodists were to be assigned a generous share in the effort, and the Baptists admitted to the enterprise, while the glad hand of fellowship was held out for the contributions of the few and struggling Episcopalians, all of them

joining in the use of the structure. When the good man took breath, after describing the blessed and harmonious result, Bishop Burgess inquired, in his quizzical, courteous manner, "Well now, my dear Doctor, what do you suppose will be the actual, ultimate issue of this co-operative undertaking?" "To open my heart freely to you, Bishop Burgess," he replied, with engaging candor and not without a suppressed twinkle of the eye, "I presume the final outcome will be the establishment of a nice little Congregational church."

The Church is today comparatively strong in Portland, the seat of the Bishop, and there are some half dozen other strong parishes outside, one of them maintained on a generous scale by summer residents, whose own parishes are far away. But engaging and inestimably precious as is the work of the Church in Maine and whole-heartedly self-sacrificing as have been its three Bishops, the day of its predominance appears to be always retreating.

When Bishop Neely entered upon his office, in 1867, with ripe experience and complete consecration, he soon discovered that there was still much land left to be possessed. The solid northern half of the Diocese was yet unexplored, in a Church point of view, a territory twice as large as the whole of New Jersey, but, of course, very thinly inhabited.

One of his first active steps was to make a missionary journey through the length and breadth of this *terra incognita*, beginning with a course due north from Bangor and Oldtown, two hundred miles on the Aroostook Road, taking with him one of his clergy and two laymen.

As they were to pass many clear mountain streams and had an eye for sport as well as work, they carried, among their paraphernalia, a generous supply of fishing rods. In the course of the expedition they happened to lodge, one night, near the foot of Mount Katahdin, at a village which boasted a weekly newspaper about the size of a man's hand. In the succeeding issue of the journal, it was chronicled, "Last Wednesday night there passed through the town the Bishop of Maine and the rector of St. John's Church, Bangor, on a missionary journey. Judging from a glance at their wagons, we should not infer that they are exclusively fishers of men." The Bishop did faithfully angle for men, as well as otherwise, but it must be acknowledged that the bait was rather rarely taken.

So primitive was the field traveled over that, in a notice of a Sunday morning service, posted beforehand by a friendly resident, no hour was given, but only the intimation that "the meeting would begin when the sun should be about 2½ hours high."

One night the party had been dragging wearily along for

seven miles through the almost pitchy dark forest without coming to a single house, when a sort of rough inn was reached, with, however, no ray of light in the windows, the inmates having long before entered upon their slumbers.

It was with great difficulty that anyone was aroused or could be persuaded to open the door, it being urged that only seven miles more would bring the benighted company to the next house.

Nevertheless, when, on the following morning, the hostess discovered that she was entertaining a Bishop of the Church of her birth in England, she pleaded with him to baptize her numerous young children.

After the end of breakfast, a spotless cloth was laid over one end of the table. A white china bowl filled with water from the spring was set upon it, Bishop Neely entered the room, fully robed, the solemn office was said, a half dozen little souls were received into the Ark, and the Church was established in the northern half of Maine, two hundred and sixty years, to a single month, from the date when the initial use of the Book of Common Prayer in the southern half had occurred at "St. George—His Island," in 1607.

So long does it take to make a Diocese in New England.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The history of the introduction of the Church into New Hampshire, which, in early days, included also Vermont, may be said, almost literally, to have been embraced in the annals of a single parish, that of St. John's Church, Portsmouth, known before the Revolutionary War as Queen's Chapel.

The original settlers of New Hampshire, who had planted themselves at the mouth of the Piscataqua as early as 1623, under the auspices of Mason and Gorges, were, however, of the Church, and even built there, previously to 1638, a simple chapel and a parsonage, with a view to the Rev. Richard Gibson's occupancy, in combination, as already referred to, with his ministrations in Maine.

Governor John Winthrop made a somewhat sinister reference to the fact, declaring that some of the members of that settlement were "professed enemies of the way of the churches," i. e., of the Puritan churches.

A grant of fifty acres of land was made to the Church by the provisional government of the period, in New Hampshire, in a deed, by which it is still held, a portion of the land lying in the compact part of Portsmouth.

The chapel itself, however, after 1640, appears to have lapsed into a meeting house, by which name it was called ever

after, being used for worship by the Congregationalists for eighteen years. (Batchelder's History of the Eastern Diocese, I, 139.)

In 1642, Mr. Gibson was banished by the government of Massachusetts, to which New Hampshire belonged until 1679, on the accusation of exercising the unauthorized right to baptize and marry. From that date all traces of any organized Church life in Portsmouth seem to have been suppressed for nearly a century by Puritan intolerance and persecution.

In the early portion of the eighteenth century, however, circumstances became more favorable. Many men of character and substance attached to the Church of England, became residents in the town or its vicinity. In 1732, they combined and erected a church on the high ground above the Piscataqua. The Queen presented to it two large flagons, a chalice, a paten and a christening bowl of solid silver, the chapel being called, in gratitude, as has been already noted, Queen's Chapel.

One of the enthusiastic promoters of the enterprise, whose instruction in the catechism seems to have stopped short of the tenth commandment, cast a longing eye at this juncture towards Rhode Island, and permitted himself to covet the Society's missionary assigned to Providence, the Rev. Arthur Browne. In writing to a gentleman in London, a certain Captain John Thomlinson, judged to have considerable influence with the S. P. G., the Portsmouth Churchman lays bare the grounds of his scheme for removing Mr. Browne, and remarks, after speaking of Portsmouth as a seaport, the metropolis of the King's government, "Now Providence being a country town and but very few professed Churchmen there, and those, too, more in profession than reality, of very different behaviour, . . . and but a small distance from Road Island [meaning Newport, just thirty miles away], where there is a Church established, and I believe were Mr. Browne to write his own sentiments he could give but a very indifferent character of the people there, and such a one as would scarce deserve the Society's care. Besides, as we have built a Church, which hath already cost us near, if not quite, two thousand pounds, etc." Perhaps it was not unnatural that Mr. Browne concluded that there was a good opening for the inculcation of Christian charity, at least in Portsmouth. In any case he accepted the invitation to the pastoral care of Queen's Chapel and remained there for thirty-seven years, until his death. He was a very attractive gentleman, a friend of Bishop Berkeley, an excellent preacher and a faithful parish priest, being reputed to have been the original of the "Parson," in the "Poet's Tale," among Longfellow's

"Tales of a Wayside Inn," although the passage alluding to him there seems scarcely to do him justice:

"The Parson, too, appeared, a man austere,
The instinct of whose nature was to kill;
The wrath of God he preached from year to year,
And read, with fervor, Edwards on the Will."*

The Portsmouth layman's notion, in which there is no evidence that others shared, of the relative importance of the Parson's two charges has hardly been borne out by subsequent history. Portsmouth has but a few thousands of people, with two churches, embracing a little over five hundred communicants, at even the present day, while Providence has reached a population of about two hundred thousand, and contains above a dozen churches, with nearly seven thousand communicants.

One of the powerful patrons of Queen's Chapel was Governor Benning Wentworth, a constant and wise counsellor and a member of the S. P. G., his successor, Sir John Wentworth, being also concerned in the welfare of the parish. By the influence of Governor Benning Wentworth, large tracts of land in many towns of New Hampshire were reserved for the endowment of the Church. With such parishioners as gathered around the new enterprise led by so acceptable and even brilliant a rector, it is not surprising that soon Queen's Chapel became noted, throughout New England for the comparative splendor and social prominence of its congregation. A clergyman from rural Narragansett, who officiated at Portsmouth on a Sunday in September, 1773, set down in his Parish Register, upon his return, with a sort of quaint and bucolic elation, "Preached in Portsmouth Church, which I found to be a small but gay and shining congregation in Respect to Dress and Appearance."**

Since the name of the parish was changed to St. John's, after the Revolutionary War, its prosperity has continued ample, one rector, the Rev. Dr. Charles Burroughs, being at its head from 1809 to 1858, and a large share of the men of education in the town, among them, in former years, Daniel Webster and Jeremiah Mason, being counted as its attendants and giving it great weight in the Diocese.

For about eighty-six years of its history the Church has

**Digest of the S. P. G. Records*, page 852.

** Would it not be entertaining to have pictured for us, if possible, the costumes and adornments, which thus appear to have drawn off the attention of the simple-hearted parson from his own excellent discourse a hundred and forty years ago?

been served by only two rectors. Two other parishes were early organized in New Hampshire in the western section, one at Claremont, about 1773, and the other at Cornish, in 1793, probably as a result of the conformance to the Church of Philander Chase, afterwards the great pioneer Bishop of Ohio and Illinois, but born a Congregationalist. The Church at Rumford, now Concord, belongs to a later date. There is much of very deep interest in the history of these parishes and in the establishment of the great school, St. Paul's, at the latter place, giving to the Diocese its chief present attraction, the Church in New Hampshire, although vigorous and churchly, never having attained great size, even under the devotion and zeal of its most excellent Bishops.

MASSACHUSETTS.

If the Advent of the Church in Maine was, as has been seen, like a tranquil dawn, its introduction into Massachusetts bore a far different aspect.

More aptly might it be compared, with the opposition it there met, to the storming of a grim fortress, where every gate had been bolted and barred and every bridge drawn up. The Puritans were in almost absolute possession of Boston during the middle of the seventeenth century, holding the civil power as well as the spiritual, and they intended to remain so. There was no face of the organized Church of England in the Colony until about 1679. Nevertheless, the situation was not as simple as it might appear. By no means all inside that stronghold had lost their love for the Church of their youth. The Puritans had driven out the Church through the door, but it had come back through the window. Some of them were half ready to undo the bars and draw back the bolts of the castle. There were furtive spiritual traitors within the walls. From many a figuratively grated window was whispered beneath the breath, "Sing us one of the songs of Zion!" The last thing desired or intended by the Royal Commission promoting the Colony, was that it should be occupied by an exclusively Puritan personnel.

Steadily the London adventurers and the Council of New England favored the emigration of those of milder views of religion. The Rev. John Robinson, an arch-Puritan, indeed, but recognized as "the most learned, polished and modest spirit, that ever separated from the Church of England," took the liveliest interest in the plan, for emigration to America and was active in negotiations with the Virginia Company. But he himself was never permitted to follow his flock to Massachusetts. He wrote to Brewster, in 1623, "I persuade

myself that, for me, they, of all others, are unwilling I should be transported," and he never came. There was, however, a call for numerous emigrants. Comparatively few Churchmen cared to venture their fortunes in the New World. They had no motive for leaving England. Vast numbers of those of Puritan tendencies, however, harassed by ecclesiastical conditions at home thought they saw relief and happiness in New England and they formed a great majority of the settlers. But many of even them were not out and out separatists, after all. They could not bear to cut the last rope. Winthrop himself was a communicant member of the Church as long as he remained in England and united in an affectionate farewell to it on his departure.

Francis Higginson, when leaving his native shore, exclaimed to the assembled passengers, "We will say, 'Farewell, dear England. Farewell, the Church of England.' . . . We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of God in England, although we cannot but separate from the corruption of it."

There were many who, in their personal experience, illustrated the favorite and, perhaps, somewhat sentimental apologue, "The Changed Cross." Turned against the Church by the despotic attitude of the King and the proscriptive policy of land, they fancied they should find rest for their souls from their heavy cross in the Congregational order and form of worship. But when they wearied of that, too, and discovered thorns beneath the roses which twined around their new cross, they chanced, at length, upon a form just suited to their needs and just what they could bear, and, lo! their eyes were opened and they saw their own dear old Church itself which had been, for a season, deserted and despised.

Even William Blackstone, who, of course, never thought of separating from the Church but still had been sufficiently galled to be caused to emigrate, found that there was human nature in the saints who joined him at Boston, as well as in the ecclesiastical magnates whom he had fled from England to be rid of, exclaiming, as has been so often quoted, "I left England because of my dislike of the Lord Bishops, but now I do not like the lord brethren," and again folded his tent and found in Rhode Island, as an anchorite, the peace his soul loved. It is an error to judge the men of that time harshly. They lived in days of great spiritual disturbance. The ecclesiastical equilibrium in England was thoroughly unsettled. Nobody was wholly to blame. Great problems of the mind and heart were clamoring to be worked out. A new field for the conflict needed to be provided. Now that the fight is mainly over and the smoke has been blown away, the

air seems all the clearer and no one deeply regrets that the battle was set in array.*

Puritans and Churchmen all were men in earnest. Both parties believed themselves in the right. In a sense, they were both in the right, because they sincerely believed so. We are often warned that two wrongs do not make a right. No less true is it that two opposing rights, even very different ones, do not always make a wrong. Most of the bitterness and strife of the world has arisen from overlooking the principle that in a conflict of honest convictions, both parties may be at root correct.

In the case in hand our sympathies are, of course, heartily with the Churchmen. But if the native New Englanders of today have any iron in their blood, we must remember that it is because they are descended from such sturdy old Puritans as John Endicott and John Winthrop and John Cotton.

The earliest attempt of which we are informed to plant the Church in Massachusetts was in 1623. In that year, the Rev. William Morrell, an ordained clergyman, came with Captain Robert Gorges, and lived for a while at Weymouth, on the south shore, being entrusted with a rather ill-advised commission from the Ecclesiastical Court to "exercise a kind of superintendence over the churches which are or may be established in New England."

He found, outside of Plymouth, where there was naturally no urgent demand for his services, few inhabitants except Indians and no churches at all, to submit to his quasi-episcopal authority.

One of the grim Puritans of the day remarked quite aptly, "Mr. Morrell did well not to open his commission until there appeared a subject-matter to work upon." But no "subject-matter" offering, he quite philosophically wrought the result of his Colonial observations into a very fair Latin poem and resailed for England or elsewhere. It is believed, without absolute evidence, that Blackstone, gentleman, scholar and long sole occupant of Shawmut peninsula, came as a companion of Morrell. In 1629 the two Browns, John and Samuel, members of the Council of Massachusetts Bay Company, as well as staunch Churchmen, arrived in Salem and began to meet in a private house, with a few others, for worship in

*The Puritans believed themselves victims of oppression and persecution, on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities of England. But, when at length they found themselves in the saddle, in Boston, they did not dream of granting the few Churchmen among them, such freedom as they had so bitterly complained of being denied. The fact is, that neither Puritans nor Churchmen, in that age, had learned the lesson of soul liberty. But it has now passed into a common place, thanks very much to that very combat.

the manner of the Church of England. Finding these two brothers to be particularly high spirited and their speeches and practices tending, as Governor Endicott claimed, to mutiny and faction, he told them roundly that New England was no place for such as they and deported them to the Old World, it being nearly a century before any considerable number of Churchmen were gathered again in the town of Salem. Before 1630, there were somewhat numerous settlers in Massachusetts, known as the "Old Planters," such as Maverick, Conant and Woodbury, who held firmly to the Church of England, and were scrupulous in having their children baptized by the Rev. Mr. Lyford, an Irish clergyman of Puritan tendencies, but not a separatist, who came to Plymouth in 1624, and removed into Virginia in 1627, in response to a "loving invitation," not receiving, it appears, "a like loving invitation" to remain at Plymouth.

In 1646, "A Remonstrance and Humble Petition," i. e., conventionally humble, against Puritan repression and intolerance was presented to the General Court of Massachusetts, promoted by William Vassall, of Scituate, called "a man to be feared," and signed by seven gentlemen, notably Samuel Maverick and David Yale, a vigorous Churchman, a grandson of Thomas Morton, Bishop of Durham, and father of the famous Eli, or Elihu, Yale. Mr. Yale thus incurred the censure of the General Court for "meddling in other people's business," and is said to have taken refuge with Roger Williams, being believed to have been the first Churchman ever living in Providence.

Elihu, his son, born in Boston, or its vicinity, was only three years old when the family returned to England. He, too, was almost certainly a Churchman, being recorded as a generous contributor to the S. P. G. It was rather in his capacity as a native of New England than on account of any especial sympathy with Congregationalism, that out of a large fortune acquired during his governorship in the East Indies, he made his memorable gift to the New Collegiate School at Saybrook, which later developed into Yale College.

The cosmopolitan character of Governor Yale's life is illustrated by the curious inscription on his tomb in Wales:

Born in America, in Europe bred,
In Afric travelled and in Asia wed.

When Charles II came to the throne, at the Restoration, in 1660, measures were taken in favor of the Church, leading to higher hopes in Massachusetts. An agent of the General Court, deprecatingly reported in London that "Episcopacy, Common Prayer, bowing at the Name of Jesus, sign of

the Cross in Baptism, the Altar and organs are in use, and like to be more."

Two years later, in 1662, the King, in replying to an address of the General Court, especially provided for the grievances of Churchmen, by charging it to allow liberty, "so that they that desire to use the Book of Common Prayer . . . be not denied the exercise thereof."

About 1679 a considerable number of the inhabitants of Boston petitioned King Charles II that a Church might be allowed in that city and in form the plea was granted, although nothing practical appears to have been immediately done. But, in 1684, the charter of the Colony was declared by the High Court of Chancery to be forfeited, and, in 1686, a new order of government was established, the practical result being that the members of the Church of England were enfranchised. In the spring of that same year, Joseph Dudley, himself an independent, but friendly to the Church, came into power, as President of New England. He was accompanied by the Rev. Robert Radcliffe, a clergyman of the Church of England.

The times were now ripe for the establishment of the Church. Although Mr. Radcliffe appeared to have had, in so large a degree, the countenance of the government, the use of any of the three meeting houses of Boston was, at first, denied him, the east end of the Town house and later the Exchange being offered to him as places to preach in. But the day soon came when, in a way to be regretted, the employment of the Congregational meeting houses was in a manner commandeered rather than patiently pleaded for. Sir Edmund Andros soon succeeded President Dudley and immediately sought for the opening of one of the three meeting houses for the purpose of worship according to the usage of the Church of England.

On March 23, 1687, the crisis came. Andros demanded the keys of the south meeting house, so that, as he put it, "they might say their prayers there." On March 25th, the government took possession of the house and had the Good Friday service held in it; so great was the change of relations since forty years before, when David Yale was censured by the General Court for "meddling in other people's business," by protesting against Puritanical intolerance, and driven to Rhode Island.

It is quaintly recorded that "Goodman Needham, tho' had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to ring ye bell and open ye door, at ye Governor's command."

Sunday, March 27th, being Easter, the Governor again occupied the same place and had the full service. Judge Sewall ruefully records that they "met at 11, and broke off

past 2 because of ye Sacrament and Mr. Clarke's long sermon, though we were appointed to come half hour past one; so 'twas a sad sight to see how full ye street was with people gazing and moving to and fro, because had not entrance into ye house."

That was the high-handed and inauspicious way in which Church services were inaugurated in Boston.

It was on June 15th of that same year, 1686, that King's parish was organized, the Rev. Mr. Radcliffe being recognized as minister, or rector, some of the Puritans amiably nicknaming his "Baal's priest" and even from the pulpit stamping the prayers of the prayer book, "leeks, garlic and trash."

In 1688, a plain church of wood, the first Episcopal Church in Massachusetts, was built on part of the ground still occupied by King's Chapel, at a cost of two hundred and eighty-four pounds sterling, the first service in it being held in June, 1689. The present venerable stone chapel was opened for divine service in August, 1754, one hundred pounds sterling having been contributed towards its construction by the S. P. G., appropriations for the support of the rector having, however, been previously declined by the Society.

The edifice was designed by Peter Harrison, the favorite Newport architect of the day, its lovely and graceful interior being doubtlessly suggested by that of Trinity Church, in his own city, where he had long sat as a worshipper and which is said itself to have been modelled on the ancient St. James's Church, Picadilly.

The resignation of Mr. Radcliffe soon after the opening of the first chapel was followed by the election of the Rev. Samuel Myles, who was succeeded by the Rev. Roger Price and the Rev. Henry Caner. During Mr. Myles's rectorship of thirty-nine years, the members of the congregation were reported as six hundred and communicants one hundred and twenty.

The unhappy circumstances attending the transfer of King's Chapel to the Unitarians, soon after the Revolutionary War, cannot be dwelt upon here. It is impossible, however, to escape noticing that the one church which was established with a high hand and depended for its early existence upon the fiat of the royal governor, should have fallen into the hands of an heretical body and been, for a century and a quarter the scene of the use of an emasculated Book of Common Prayer, almost suggesting a thought of the solemn pronouncement, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Nor can it be doubted that the period is approaching when this antique structure will be gladly and voluntarily restored to its original use, just as the day will surely come, too, in

the evolution of public honesty and honor, when the British nation will carry back the Elgin marbles from the Museum to the Acropolis.

By 1722 it was recognized that King's Chapel was not large enough to accommodate all the inhabitants of Boston, who desired to attend the Church of England.

A new house of worship, of brick, was therefore erected at the north end of the city, during 1723, and named Christ Church. From the outset it had a large congregation, seven or eight hundred attendants, a few years after its opening, it being especially recorded that on Christmas day, 1744, it was thronged with dissenters. The old North Church steeple has become famous from being the scene of the hanging out of the signal lanterns—

“one if by land, and two if by sea,”—

at the time of “Paul Revere's Ride,” the whole venerable building looking today much as it did two centuries ago.

In a half dozen years, King's Chapel again overflowed and steps were taken for the building of Trinity Church, its corner-stone being laid in 1734. This soon became the principal church in the city and has numbered among its rectors at least five who were or have become bishops.

A very different day had dawned in Boston, the Puritan stronghold, when three strong parishes of the Church were founded in it, in the course of about forty years.

It is related that when a fourth church, St. Paul's, was proposed, the Trinity rector of the day exclaimed, on hearing of it, in a manner which showed at once the great change in the social status of the Church since primitive Colonial times, and a rather singular conception of the proper object of churches in any wise: “A new church in Boston! What call is there for a new church? Isn't Trinity large enough for all the gentlemen in Boston?”

At the time of the chartering of the S. P. G., 1701, there was no church in Massachusetts outside the town of Boston. But soon afterwards, in the section around, where many inhabitants were attached to the Church of England and ready to welcome its services, churches sprang up, each interesting and important enough to be worthy of a detailed description, but necessarily to be dismissed here with a bare mention of the name—St. Paul's Church, at first called St. Anne's Chapel, Newburyport, where Bishop Bass ministered for fifty years—St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, where, on account of poverty, there were frequent changes of pastor, the Puritan minister, Mr. Barnard, settled, of course, for life, jotting down jeeringly in his diary that Marblehead must be a very salubrious locality, inasmuch as no rector of St. Michael's ever died there—Christ Church, Braintree, now Quincy, the scene of Dr. Ebenezer Miller's labors—St. Andrew's Church, Scitu-

ate, where the Rev. Ebenezer Thompson so long ministered—St. Peter's Church, Salem, whence the Rev. Mr. Brockwell, missionary of the S. P. G., wrote, in elation, June 30, 1739, that he "was received with great joy and found a handsome, well-furnished church, with the Ten Commandments in golden letters upon black, and the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in black letters upon gold, at the Communion Table"—St. Thomas's Church, Taunton—Christ, later St. Paul's, Church, Dedham—and Christ Church, Cambridge, with another of Peter Harrison's creations for its church, which was styled by the missionary, the Rev. East Apthorp, "decently elegant."

The mention just now of St. Andrew's Church, Scituate, built in 1731, on "Church Hill," suggests an incident which, although it occurred several years previously, may have had some connection with the inception of the church movement in the town and, at least, illustrates the original attitude prevailing towards the Church of England. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, young William Wanton, whose father was a prominent Quaker of Scituate, fell in love with Miss Ruth Bryant, a daughter of an equally decided Congregationalist.

Religious objections against the match arising on both sides, threatening to bring it to an end, the impatient swain exclaimed to his lady love, "Friend Ruth, let us break from this unreasonable bondage. I will give up my religion and thou shalt give up thine, and we will go over to the Church of England and—go to the devil together,"—a proposition which they proceeded literally to carry out—that is, the first part of it.

They adhered all their lives to the Church of England, in Newport, whither they removed, and brought up in it their nine children, the Wantons being the most powerful family of its day in the Rhode Island Colony, five of them becoming its governors.

As years went on many of the religious asperities of Massachusetts, of the earlier period, appear to have been smoothed down. Times grew milder. On one occasion it is recorded that a considerable portion of the congregation of Christ Church, Boston, consisted of "dissenters, decent and composed." In one section after another the requirement that Churchmen should be taxed for the support of the Puritan clergy was relaxed. Governor Dudley, who, although an Independent, seems always, as has been already noted, to have had a friendly feeling for the Church, gave it as his opinion that certain petitioners of Newbury Church "ought not to be taxed or imposed upon for the support and maintenance of any other public worship in the said town."

The casting into prison of certain reputable citizens of Bristol, now Rhode Island, but then included in Plymouth Colony, for refusing to pay imposts for the salary of the Congregational minister, aroused such indignation as hindered its repetition.

One Puritan magistrate called upon to certify to the churchmanship of a citizen who claimed to be free from maintaining the "Standing Order" (it was in Connecticut), is related to have shown his humor, good or otherwise, by inditing, "The bearer of this, John Smith, having taken oath that he has abjured the Christian religion and joined the Episcopal Church, is hereby relieved from the payment of the regular rates."

In what contrast to that day of small things for the Church, when it was forced to fight its way for existence, stands an impressive scene enacted, on a very recent date, in Boston.

The time is the sixth day of October, in the autumn just closed, 1913. A procession is beheld issuing from a large steeple-crowned edifice at the head of Boston Common, and marching along the elm-arched mall to a stately, columned structure across the street, on the left. At the head of the line walks a vested cross-bearer. In the procession are seen white-robed choristers, students in black gowns, a great number of clergy wearing surplices and many-colored hoods, and one commanding figure, most marked of all, clad in Episcopal vestments. It is the Bishop of Massachusetts with his clergy proceeding to his Cathedral Church to sing a *Te Deum* in grateful recognition of the completion of twenty years since his consecration. On each side are massed crowds of citizens, respectful and sympathetic, swift to show honor to one whom all love. The very building, which has been freely and gladly offered for the robing place of the procession and as its starting point, is most significant of the wonderful transformation wrought since the day when Churchmen were shut out of every meeting house in Boston and compelled to gain admission by the strong arm of the civil law. It is the Park Street Church, long almost the latest citadel of Puritanic domination, the location being popularly styled, by reason of the stiff Calvinism preached in the structure, "Brimstone Corner." No longer are the adherents of the Church a mere handful of people, grudgingly tolerated. Rather do they enjoy an almost perilous degree of prosperity, as the predominant religious body in the city.

A recent census of all that large section lying west of the Public Garden and filled with the residences of the leading citizens, has disclosed the fact that a far greater number of its families attend the Episcopal Church than any other.

The faithful Diocesan can reflect as he enters his Cathedral today, to the sound of the exultant Ambrosian Hymn, that in Greater Boston he has under his cure thirty-five churches, embracing more than fifteen thousand communicants, and in his whole Diocese one hundred and ninety-one parishes and missions, with forty-nine thousand communicants, while the entire State, until lately wholly under the charge of the Bishop of Massachusetts, contains two hundred and fifty-two parishes and missions and sixty-three thousand communicants. So literally has the little one become a thousand.

RHODE ISLAND.*

The introduction of the Church into Rhode Island was almost as dissimilar from its founding in the northern part of New England as if the two sections had been situated in different parts of the world, instead of being separated by only a narrow river. Except in Bristol, then a part of Plymouth Colony, Churchmen had no large numbers of Puritan neighbors to "molest them or make them afraid." The Christian bodies predating them in the Colony were chiefly either Quakers, who evinced little antagonism to the Church, or Baptists, who were precluded by the proclamation of religious freedom, on the part of their leader, Roger Williams, from evincing any at all.

There were established in Rhode Island about the beginning of the eighteenth century, four parishes of the Church possessing considerable strength, no other one, able to endure, being added for nearly a century. These four, however, stood firm, like an invincible strategic quadrilateral, in the four quarters, north, south, east and west, of the Commonwealth, through all the commotions of the Revolution and the succeeding period of exhaustion, and remain in undiminished vigor to the present day.

It is not possible to assert when, after the period of the settlement of Newport, there were not Churchmen in that town. It was in 1698, only two years subsequently to the organization of Trinity Church, New York, that services according to the English Book of Common Prayer began to be held in the seaport of Rhode Island. The instrument to whom this step was chiefly due, was Sir Francis Nicholson, successively royal Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of New York, Virginia and Maryland, credited in an ancient document with being "the original founder and first principal

*Of Rhode Island, the exhaustion of the time, at our disposal, forbids the taking of more than a cursory view.

patron of Trinity Church, Newport." There is evidence that Queen Anne charged Sir Francis to inquire into the condition of American churches.

Among the resident promoters of the undertaking were Gabriel Bernon, a well-known French Protestant refugee; Pierre Ayrault, also a Huguenot; William Brinley, son of Francis; and Robert Gardner, Collector of the Port.

After one or two temporary missionaries, there was sent over by the S. P. G., the Rev. James Honyman, "a diligent Scotchman," who toiled with all his heart for nearly a half-century to build up the parish until his death, like Goldsmith's "Village Preacher," who

"Ne'er had changed or wished to change his place."

The inscription on Mr. Honyman's tomb, hard by the principal church door, quaintly describes him, as "with the arm of charity embracing all sincere followers of Christ."

The time naturally arrived, under his mild sway, when the predominant Quakers and two kinds of Baptists, besides Presbyterians and Independents, are recorded to have "all agreed that the Church of England was the second best," sufficiently satisfactory evidence that it was, in truth, the first best.

The visit of Dean, afterwards Bishop, Berkeley, at Newport, formed one of the principal incidents in the early history of Trinity Church. The Dean was anything rather than a Calvinist, although a generous spirited recognizer of genius wherever he found it. One summer Sunday, in 1729, when he was preaching in the church with all the pews filled to repletion by those eager to hear their favorite speaker, Baptists and friendly Quakers, in their broad-brimmed hats, standing patiently in the alleys, Berkeley, up in the towering pulpit, suddenly waxed warm and pronounced, with mighty emphasis and a merry gleam in his eye, a sentence, probably not to be found in his carefully-written manuscript, "Give the devil his due. John Calvin was a great man."

Over in Narragansett, at about the same period, a considerable group of Churchmen was to be found, the two Richard Smiths, father and son, their kinsmen, the Updikes, the Phillippes, and George Balfour. It is narrated that, for some time previously to 1675, the Rev. William Blackstone, whom we have seen migrating from Shawmut Peninsula to escape the too persistent attentions of the "Lord-Brethren" in Boston, was accustomed, once a month, to ride from his home in the northern part of the Colony, in primitive style, upon the back of a trained mouse-colored bullock, to Wickford, to hold, in Richard Smith's block-house, what are believed to have been the first prayer book services in Rhode Island. Adequate strength was developed to enable the Churchmen

of Narragansett, in 1707, to erect a sightly and sufficiently spacious church, still standing, although used for worship only occasionally in summer. The principal missionary sent out to this nation by the S. P. G. in the eighteenth century was the Rev. James MacSparran, D.D., who arrived in 1721 and labored there for more than a generation with exceptional ability, entire devotedness and eminent success. Hardly anywhere was there, at that day, so strong a country parish as he left when he died in 1757. It can scarcely be conceded that his forceful and churchly influence has yet ceased to be felt in the region.

Like all other profoundly religious men, the Doctor had his pet abhorrances, sounding rather odd in our day—the practice of lay-reading, the establishment of churches without glebes, and the presence of Quakers.* Sometimes, with all his acknowledged predominance in ecclesiastical rank, learning, benevolence and social status, even Dr. MacSparran found his match. There was in the neighborhood of the Doctor's glebe-house, a poor, uneducated Quaker preacher, counted as scarcely more than simple in the world, but mighty in the Scriptures inside the meeting house, and a powerful speaker on First days and Fifth days. Having conscientious scruples against taking money for uttering the Lord's message, he earned his daily bread by the roughest kinds of labor. One day the rector found the humble Friend at his toil, and riding up to him on his fine horse, with just a bit of a patronizing air, exclaimed, "Well, James, how many bowls of bread and milk does it take to build a stone wall?" "Just as many, Doctor," responded the reputed half-witted Quaker, "just as many as it takes of hireling priests to make a Gospel minister." But there can be no doubt that each of these very diverse parties to the passage-at-arms, recognized at its full value the sterling worth of the other.

The third Colonial church of Rhode Island is that of St. Michael's, Bristol, established in 1719. The early rectors, both sent by the S. P. G., were the Rev. James Orem, who remained but a brief period, and the Rev. John Usher, who labored for more than fifty years to build up the parish which has long ranked as the leading extraurban church of the Diocese. One of its chief claims is as the scene of the won-

*As the Quakers were the principal heretics Dr. MacSparran found in his sphere of operation, he made the most of them and chose them to be the particular objects of attack, declaring that when he entered on his mission, "I found the people not a *tabula rasa*, or clean sheet of paper, upon which I might make any impressions I pleased, but a field full of briars and thorns and noxious weeds, that were all to be eradicated, before I could implant in them the simplicity of Truth."

derful labors of the saintly and apostolic Bishop Griswold for a quarter of a century.

The last of the Colonial parishes of Rhode Island is St. John's, Providence, known in those Colonial days as King's Church, whose founders began to build on St. Barnabas's Day, 1722. Many years previously Mr. Blackstone had settled, as already noted, a few miles north of Providence, at what is now known as Lonsdale, on the river still called by his name. There is little doubt that his arrival antedated that of Roger Williams by several months, if not by a year. A visitor of the time somewhat dryly chronicled, "One Master Blackstone lives near Master Williams, but is far from his opinions." There is a tradition that this excellent clergyman held services in Providence at a very early period, his ministrations being highly prized by all, especially by the children, with whom his popularity may not, perhaps, have been entirely unconnected with the fact that, being the first cultivator of fruit trees in the Colony, he was wont to come to town with his pockets well stored with apples, to be distributed after the benediction.

St. John's Church, or King's Church, soon attained a commanding position, several of its early rectors being men of unusual mark, as Rev. Arthur Browne, already referred to in connection with St. John's, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Rev. John Checkley, once the keeper of a little book shop in Boston, called, in old-fashioned style, "The Crown and Blue Gate," and not ordained until he had attained his fifty-ninth year.

The work of St. John's in the nineteenth century was built up and consolidated by the Rev. Dr. N. B. Crocher, who labored for its welfare, with all his heart and strength, from 1807 to 1865.

Upon the foundation of these four Colonial parishes has been reared by Bishop Griswold, Bishop Henshaw and Bishop Clark, the Diocese of Rhode Island, so small in territory, but so strong in comparative numbers and in good works. No other Protestant Christian body in the State today is growing as rapidly as the Church or seems to be offering ministrations as welcome to the population.

In the early summer of the year 1900, the bicentenary of the foundation of the S. P. G. began to be celebrated in London. It chanced that the speaker was present on the occasion and "his lot was to burn incense," in company with a countless host of other Anglican Churchmen, in gratitude for all that the venerable society has been permitted to accomplish. There were a stately service of thanksgiving in St. Paul's Cathedral and services very numerous in other London churches.

But the greatest assembly of all was held in the historic Exeter Hall, on the afternoon of the nineteenth day of June.

Archbishop Temple, of Canterbury, was in the president's chair, supported by more than a score of other Bishops. The Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister of England, was present, and made a notable speech.

There were there, too, the venerable Bishop Doane, of Albany, who presented an address from the American Church, and Bishop Dudley, of Kentucky, who also spoke on the occasion. Prebendary Tucker, then secretary of the S. P. G., read a cablegram of congratulation from the rector and church wardens of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, R. I., one of the earliest settlements of the Society. A most inspiring feature of the meeting was the singing of the national anthem by the children of the Chapel Royal, whose quaint uniforms, perhaps unchanged since the formation of the Society, two hundred years before, made a bright patch of color upon the otherwise somewhat sombre black-coated map on the platform.

Nor did a New England Churchman need to feel himself a stranger in this scene, as if the venerable Society were none of his. Rather might he have rightly realized that it was peculiarly his own. The primary purpose of the organization in its earlier inchoate form was the promotion of Christianity in the Northern Colonies of America.

As early as July, 1649, an ordinance was passed erecting a corporation to be called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and, again, in the fourth year of the reign of Charles II, the King was graciously pleased to revive and renew the work by creating, through an express charter, "The Society (or Company) for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and parts adjacent, in America," two score years before the corporation developed into its permanent more general form.

Before the close of the Revolutionary War, the Society had sent and supported eighty-four missionaries at eighty central stations in, as it records, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont and Narragansett. With that record in our minds, do we need to look far afield for the agencies which founded the Church in New England? Without the fostering care of the Society the Church, as it is in New England, and almost, from a human point of view, the Church at all, would never have existed. Right heartily then do we accord to the ancient association its long-established title, "The Venerable Society."

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